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GENERAL GRANT'S LETTERS TO A FRIEND, 1862-1880.—II.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY GENERAL JAMES GRANT WILSON.

XI.

17, Cavendish Square, June 9th, 1877.

My stay in London has been more protracted than I had intended, or will be before my accepted engagements are fulfilled. I have accepted invitations for every day up to and including the 26th of this month. On the 28th of June I will be at a banquet to be given in Liverpool. Within a few days of that time, most likely on the 1st day of July, I will be in Paris on my way to Switzerland. My stay will probably not reach more than a day or two beyond the 4th of July in Paris. The reception I have had in England so far has been very gratifying and I think very complimentary to our country. I recognize the fact that it is more for the country all the compliments I am receiving are intended than for me personally.

I will send my courier to Paris to secure quarters for our short stay, or will get General Torbett to do this for me. I will be compelled to be very moderate in my expenditures to correspond with my means. In fact the extent of my visit abroad will depend entirely on how long I can stay upon the limited capital I have brought with me.

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XII.

PARIS, France, October 7th, 1878.

I am just in receipt of your very welcome letter of the 23d of September. I have no recollection of receiving a letter from you written about the time of your departure from Paris. I am sure I should have answered had such a letter reached me. The last communication I remember anything of was either a letter or despatch—the latter I think—received by me at Frankfort, in answer to mine stating the time I would remain there. I was very sorry not to meet you there.

As you say, it is bliss to be out of the United States just at a time when all the bad elements in the country are seemingly carrying everything before them. It is to be hoped, and I think confidently to be relied upon, that all the isms will have run their course before 1880. It is incomprehensible that men—not to say a majority— could be found who are willing to upset the country financially just at a time when we have got so near to specie payments, when we have established the highest credit known among nations, and when general prosperity to the country is just dawning. The whole Democratic party cried itself hoarse over the outrage upon the Constitution when the nation, in its desperation, adopted the "legal tender note." Every Democratic Judge upon the Supreme bench, I believe, gave a judicial opinion against the constitutionality of the act and every Republican member of the Court sustained it only on the ground of imperative necessity, a means to save the nation's life, on the ground of self-defence and self-preservation justifying the means. Now the whole party seems to be willing to issue an unlimited quantity of this money in spite of their previous declaration, in spite of the solemn promise that above a certain amount—400,000,000—should not be issued, in spite of the solemn obligation that those issued should be redeemed in coin, understood at the time to be gold coin. I believe I am right in this statement of the views of the Supreme Court on the money question. . . .

We leave here in a few days for Spain and Portugal. When we have visited those countries we will have been in every country in Europe, and a little of Africa and Asia. I have enjoyed it all very much, but often feel homesick to get back. If I should go back now, however, I would have no home to go to. In the spring

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I would have my Long Branch home, where I could stay through the summer and make arrangements for the winter. Mrs. Grant joins me in kindest regards to Mrs. Washburne and the children, as well as to yourself. I will always be glad to hear from you, and hope I shall not prove negligent in answering.

XIII.

PARIS, FRANCE, December 24th, 1878.

Your very welcome letter of November the 24th was awaiting me here on my return to Paris some ten days since. I was very glad to hear from you again, but sorry to hear the cause of the detention of your family East this winter. I hope your daughter is improving and that she will soon be restored to entire health.

You have seen by the papers that I have determined to go home by India, China, and Japan. This will not probably delay my return, but it will land me in San Francisco about the time I expected to reach Philadelphia—say the last of June. If we get to San Francisco as early as that or nearly so, I shall want to remain on the Pacific coast six weeks or two months. I spent two years there in early life and always felt the greatest desire to make it my future home. Nothing ever fell over me like a wet blanket so much as my promotion to the Lieutenant-Generalcy. As junior Major-General in the regular Army I thought my chances good for being placed in command of the Pacific Division when the war closed. As Lieutenant-General all hope of that kind vanished. You wrote me that you had been all over the Pacific coast before and how much interested you were in that country.

I anticipate great pleasure from the trip before me. The fact is I take much more interest in seeing countries but seldom visited by foreigners than in seeing those where one comes but little in contact with others than those foreign to the soil visited. I shall endeavor to profit by the journey, even if I should write nothing. So far I have abstained from giving my views about the institutions and people of the countries I have already visited. The fact is, however, that I have seen nothing to make me regret that I am an American. Our country, its resources, the energy, ingenuity, and intelligence of the people, etc., is more appreciated abroad than at home. If our politicians and people could see us as others see us, and see how much better off all pro-

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ducing classes are with us than in the most favored nation of Europe, they would have much less to complain of and more to be thankful for.

I am much pleased with the result of the November elections. It seems to me to put the Republican party right for 1880. Providence seems to direct that something should be done just in time to save the party of progress and national unity and equality. The Potter investigating committee and the financial question did it the last time.

XIV.

SINGAPORE, STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, April 4th, 1879.

Since my last letter to you I have seen much of the world new to me, and but little visited by our countrymen. The reality is different from my anticipations as to climate, characteristics of the natives, the governments that have been forced upon them, etc., etc. My idea had been rather that English rule in this part of the globe was purely selfish, all for the benefit of "Old England" and pampered sons sent here to execute laws enacted at home, and nothing for the benefit of the governed. I will not say that I was all wrong, but I do say that Englishmen are wise enough to know that the more prosperous they can make the subject the greater consumer he will become, and the greater will be the commerce and trade between the home government and the colony, and greater the contentment of the governed. This quarter is governed on this theory, and, as far as my opportunities have given me the power to judge, by a most discreet, able, and well-chosen set of officials. My opinion is that if the English should withdraw from India and the East, they would scarcely get off the soil before the work of rapine and murder and wars between native chiefs would begin. The retrograde to absolute barbarism would be more rapid than progress toward civilization is possible; it would be almost instantaneous. As Mr. Young, who is travelling with me, gives accurate and detailed accounts of every place we visit, and all we see, nothing of this sort is necessary from me. I keep somewhat careful notes, however—have since leaving Paris for the East—but doubt whether I shall ever use them further than for my own reference.

The weather is getting very warm in this section, and we must expect a good deal of it before we get to a cool climate. In

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a few days we start for Bangkok, Siam, and return here—within a degree of the equator—to take steamer for Hong-Kong. I shall then visit Chinese ports as far north as Shanghai, and possibly go to Pekin before visiting Japan. It looks now as if we would reach San Francisco as early as August. I am both homesick and dread going home. I have no home, but must establish one after I get back. I do not know where.

XV.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HONG KONG, May 4, 1879.

I am just in receipt of your letter of the 4th of February from San Antonio. I was in San Antonio in December, 1845, when it was but little else than a Mexican town and isolated from all settlements. From Corpus Christi to San Antonio there was not a family except a few Mexican settlers along the San Antonio River for some miles below the town. From there to Austin there was not a habitation except at New Bensfelt, which had been colonized, I think, that year.

We are now on the homestretch, letters going much quicker to America by the East than by the West. Up to this time myself and party have had the same hearty welcome and kind hospitalities as we experienced throughout India. It promises to be the same thing through China and Japan. At this place I have received official notification from both governments of their desire to make my stay among them as pleasant as possible. This is really the most beautiful place I have yet seen in the East. The city is admirably built and the scenery is most picturesque. The harbor is made by the irregular high land on the main shore and innumerable islands coming up out of the sea and rising to a height of from 500 to 1,700 feet above. We go to-morrow to Canton, thence to Shanghai and Pekin. On the way we will make short stops at several China sea ports. I expect to reach Yokohama about the last of June, and San Francisco late in August. I expect to remain on the Pacific for some weeks and then to go to Galena to remain until the weather gets cold. Where we will spend the winter I have not determined. We may go to Florida and Havana.

XVI.

NIKKO, JAPAN, July 23, 1879.

Some weeks since I received your letter written after you had

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received mine from Bombay. You had not received one from me written after your suggestion had been received to go to Galena on my return home. I answered that letter, saying that I should go there, and presume you received it after yours was written. Lest you may not have received it, however, I repeat that it has been my intention to go to Galena on my return.

Since my last to you I have visited the principal seacoast cities in China, and Pekin in the interior, and have now been nearly a month in this most interesting country and among these interesting people. China stands where she did when her ports were first open to foreign trade. I think I see dawning, however, the beginning of a change. When it does come China will rapidly become a powerful and rich nation. Her territory is vast and is full of resources, agricultural, mineral; iron, coal, copper, silver and gold, besides nearly every other metal, abound as they do with us. The population is industrious, frugal, intelligent, and quick to learn. They are natural artisans and tradesmen. From Bombay to Hong Kong they monopolize all the trades—mechanical—the market gardening, trucking, stevedoring, small shopkeeping, etc., and are rapidly driving out the larger merchants. They cannot do so well, however, in their own country. They must have the protection of a better and more honest government to succeed. Neither the country, cities, nor people present attractions to invite the traveller to make a second visit. Japan is different. The country is beautiful beyond description. Every street and every house is as clean as they can be made. Good water prevails everywhere and it is freely used. The progress that has been made in the last dozen years is almost inconceivable. Free schools abound all over the land, giving facilities for every child, male and female, to get a fair education. Attendance is almost compulsory between certain ages. In the cities they have academies, colleges and normal schools, both to prepare males and females. It has been my privilege to visit at Tokio (Yeddo) their military and naval academies, their School of Science, their college, their normal school for young ladies, a very large school for children, taught by female teachers prepared at the normal school and other places of learning. The two former compare very well with our own military and naval academies in course taught, discipline, drill, and progress of the students. A student to enter the School of Science must be a good English

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scholar, and after entering all his text books and recitations are in English.

The course is six years, the last two in application of what they learned in the first four. A portion of each year—taking the place of vacation with us—is also spent in the workshops making parts of machinery, models of engines, of looms, machinery for spinning and weaving, etc., etc. Many of their teachers are natives, though the studies are in English. It will be but a few years before they will be able to dispense with foreign instruction entirely.

We leave for home by the "City of Tokio," which will sail from Yokohama about the 27th of August. I shall be glad to be settled down at home. . . .

I forgot to mention that students to enter the college must study English five years first, making a nine-year course. Here, too, they have one or two native professors.

XVII.

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., Jan. 18, 1880.

I wrote you a hasty letter from Philadelphia, but do not know whether you received it. Our trip through the South has been so far without an incident to mar the pleasure of it. All the way from Washington the people of all classes and colors were at the stations to meet the train and to extend invitations for myself and party to stop and accept their hospitalities. The business boom has reached the South, and the people are beginning to feel much better contented in consequence. I am very much pleased with Florida. The winter climate is perfection and I am told by Northern men settled here that the summers are not near so hot here as in the North, though of longer continuance. This State has a great future before it. It has the capacity to raise all the sugar and semi-tropical fruits the whole country needs besides supplying vast amounts of timber, early vegetables, nice material for paper, rope, bagging, coarse matting, etc. It affords the best opening to be found in any country for young men of little means but full of energy, industry, and patience. The impetus given already will supply in a few years all the semi-tropical fruits required by the country. What is now wanted is the establishment of moderate sugar mills over the country to buy all the sugar cane small farmers will furnish. The State is

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underlayed and has around it deposits of valuable fertilizers sufficient for many generations. If you do not join me in Cuba I hope you will come here to spend March and April. I do not doubt but you would receive much benefit from the visit.

I will sail from Cedar Keys for Havana on the 20th. The Secretary of the Navy has placed at Havana a vessel at my command. I think I shall make an excursion to Hayti, St. Domingo, Porto Rico and Jamaica, and swing around by Yucatan, so as to reach Vera Cruz about the 15th of February. When I return it will be by the way of Galveston and Denver. At the latter place and in Colorado generally I expect to stop until the weather is pleasant in Galena, say about the 10th of May. I shall be very much pleased to meet you in Havana and have you go on this trip to the West Indies, if you are sailor enough to enjoy the excursion.

XVIII.

HAVANA, CUBA, February 2d, 1880.

Your letter of the 25th of January is just received. The same mail brings New York papers of the 29th, by which I see you were in that city at that time. Your letter directed to me in Washington City was received there, but I neglected to mention it. I see by the papers the same that you mention about * * * * *. I predict that it will do him no good, and as far as it may affect me I care nothing about it. All that I want is that the government rule should remain in the hands of those who saved the Union until all the questions growing out of the war are forever settled. I would much rather any one of many I could mention should be President than that I should have it. On that subject I stand just as I told you in Chicago. I shall not gratify my enemies by declining what has not been offered. I am not a candidate for anything, and if the Chicago convention nominates a candidate that can be elected, it will gratify me, and the gratification will be greater if it should be some one other than myself. In confidence I will tell you I should feel sorry if it should be * * * * * * *. Blaine, I would like to see elected, but I fear the party could not elect him. He would create enthusiasm, but he would have opposition in his own party that might lose him some Northern States that the Republicans should carry.

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My reception here has been more than cordial by both officials and the people. The weather is sultry, just such as we run from at home in the dog days. If this winter is a sample, Florida is a much better winter resort.

Please present Mrs. Grant's and my best regards to Mrs. Washburne and your family, with the same to yourself. I shall be pleased to hear from you in the City of Mexico.

XIX.

GALVESTON, Texas, March 25th, 1880.

Your letter of the 11th of February only reached Mexico by the mail but one before my departure. I was away from the City of Mexico at the time on an excursion to the Rio Del Monte Silver mines, and did not return until after the departure of the steamer bringing it. Yours of the 26th of February was taken by the steamer on which I returned. There was no opportunity of answering either, therefore earlier, or so that you could receive it earlier than by writing from here.

In regard to your suggestion that I should authorize some one to say that in no event would I consent to ever being a candidate after 1880, I think any statement from me would be misconstrued and would only serve as a handle for my enemies. Such a statement might well be made after the nomination if I am nominated in such a way as to accept. It is a matter of supreme indifference to me whether I am or not. There are many persons I would prefer should have the office to myself. I owe so much to the Union men of the country that if they think my chances are better for election than for other probable candidates in case I should decline, I cannot decline if the nomination is tendered without seeking on my part. .

Mexico shows many signs of progress since I was there thirty-two years ago. Railroads are pushing out slowly from the capital and with every advance greater prosperity and employment for the poor follow. I think it should be the policy of our government now to cultivate the strongest feelings of friendship between the people of the two Republics. Soon we will have railroad connection between the two countries, and our people will begin to mix and become better acquainted. Mexico can, and will, raise all the tropical and semi-tropical products which we now buy from countries that take nothing from us in ex-

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change, except sterling exchange, and will take from us in return the products of our manufacturers. Americans are beginning now to work their mines. Soon they will be cultivating their sugar, coffee, and tobacco plantations, running their factories, doing their banking, etc. I go to San Antonio for a day or two, thence to New Orleans, and up the river to Memphis. I will probably run over to Hot Springs from the latter to absorb time until the weather in Galena gets pleasant. I do not care to arrive there before the first of May.

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TEN YEARS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

THE trumpets and fifes of this almost too glorious summer are over at last, and we sink back into the dowdiness of the day after the feast. This, then, should not be an inappropriate moment for the man of letters to set his house in order, and ask himself what effect all the long-drawn popular triumph which culminated in June has had upon his profession, in what a state it found and left him in his essential capacity. It seems worth while to discover what the last ten years have brought about in English literature, where we are in fact, and what pace we have been making. It by no means follows that political success means intellectual prosperity, and it is notoriously difficult to grasp a situation which is unfolding at our very feet. Yet an occasional summary of symptoms, a closing of the shop for an hour to take stock, cannot but be a useful exercise, though the calculation be not final.

It is quite plain, by every analogy of literary history, that we must not expect the progress of intellectual events to be regular. There have always been bursts of genius, followed by pauses or drops into mediocrity, and in England at least these have been noticeable ever since the art of verse, lifted so high in the hands of Chaucer, fell so low in those of his immediate successors. We ought not to despair of the Republic because there is a hush among the voices, but we should read Matthew Arnold's *The New Age* once more, and learn its excellent lesson. When, however, we attempt to concentrate our attention on the literary developments of these last ten years in England, a more unusual phenomenon, I think, meets our notice than would be caused by the mere fluctuation of talent. As events develop from day to day, each exaggerated in apparent importance as it occurs, and

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then unduly submerged in the wave of a new excitement, we perceive no general tendency nor common plan. But a space of ten years is at least a fragment of history. What can we discover of the form and character of 1887-1897?

This, first and foremost, is evident: It has been a period of the removal of landmarks. The stream of literature catches itself here and there against little weirs or breakwaters, by which it makes shorter or longer pause before flinging itself onward in cascade. The most effective mode in which this delay is caused is certainly by the protracted life of men of great genius. The prestige of very famous old men, their conservative temper, the instinctive honor paid them even by those whose practice is of a different order, delay the transmutation of literary form. Each ancient person of this kind forms a rock or inert mass, against which the stream of literature breaks and pauses. Death removes the honored obstacle, and the tide of taste precipitates itself over the space it occupied. We have only to examine history, and see what was the effect of the deaths of Ben Jonson, of Dryden, of Samuel Johnson. These facts, the removals in exhausted age of these old men, made 1637, 1700, and 1784 not merely convenient dates in the handbooks of literature, but actual flingings-open of flood-gates to the urgent waters of a change of taste.

If this be so, and it can hardly be denied, the phenomenally congested state of English literature, and particularly of poetry, ten years ago, will be seen to have been a feature which outweighed all others. If one great poet (as Victor Hugo in France) holds back the stream of invention to a highly noticeable degree, what will three or four do? The more venerable the writer becomes, the greater is his force as a repressive influence. The more kindly, the more sympathetic he is, the more difficult it is to oppose his accepted canons. Such a figure as that of Browning in 1889, or of Tennyson in 1892, possesses an almost superhuman stature. His experience, his devotion to his art, his social assumption above all common praise or blame, enfolds him in a kind of deity which his work presently ceases to enjoy in the coolness of posthumous judgment. The living bard, in extreme old age, touches for a moment the heights of glory. He is regarded with something of a superstitious awe. To younger men he seems, like the prophet Aruns in that marble cave of which

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Dante speaks in the *Inferno*, lifted to a height from whence all mortal things can be watched in their spectacular simplicity:

"Onde a guardar le stelle
E 'l mar non gli era la veduta tronca."

But at no previous moment in our literary history were there so many of these wonderful old men, these half-supernatural sooth-sayers, as in 1888. Their congregated tradition, their combined resistance to change and reform, offered a really surprising breadth and height of suspension to the moving flood of taste. Tennyson was writing still, and his modes had not radically changed for sixty years. Browning, having completely conquered the public and the critics, was nearing his eightieth year. For those who loved elegance and lucidity in prose, what could be offered more acceptable than that of Newman, and Newman, on the borders of ninety, was still alive? At Oxford, Jowett formed a barrier of influence; in science, there were Tyndall and Huxley; in history, there were Kinglake and Froude. It was to be expected that, in the natural course of events, these eldest names would be removed by death. It was not less to be expected that they would be succeeded, and their prestige be supported, with a difference, by those of a slightly younger generation. Tennyson and Browning must be taken, of course; but Matthew Arnold and William Morris would remain. Jowett would go, but there would be Pater; Froude must, surely, be succeeded by Freeman, and Church by Lightfoot. So it was naturally to be expected, and thus the length and volume of the cascade would have been broken. But it was not so to be; and the unique feature of this last decade of literary history in England has been that it has not merely removed, in unusual and sinister proximity, the heads of the oldest generation, but that it has taken with them those who should have survived to illuminate the blank they leave.

There are surviving in England at the present time only two aged writers whose appearance on a public occasion could excite universal enthusiasm. Only two; for Mr. Gladstone does not solely or even considerably owe his prestige, as Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Herbert Spencer do, to the exercise of the pen. But Mr Ruskin, quite unseen at Coniston, has practically, alas! joined the chorus of those invisible singers whose births made the second decade of this century so incomparably splendid. There re-

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mains, then, Mr. Spencer, still visible, and still clothed about with the garment of an extreme celebrity. But, with that exception, there is not now in London left one very old man to whom young people might look as they might ten years ago to a whole galaxy of genius. And in the generation succeeding that of Darwin and Tennyson, death has scarcely been less busy. If Mr. George Meredith is spared to us for ten years more, he will become one of those quasi-fabulous figures which stimulate curiosity so much, and serve so well to keep alight the flame of enthusiasm. But to find a single other name which can conceivably be put in the same topmost rank, we must come down to a still younger generation, to Mr. Swinburne and his juniors, and it will be long, indeed, and far into the twentieth century, before Mr. Swinburne, *flos juventutis* of our poetry, can consent to be venerable.

The removal of landmarks, then, is certainly the main phenomenon of these last ten years, and all other aspects of current literary history are affected by it. In one way it has doubtless had its practical benefit in clearing the ground. The fall of so many forest trees has let in plenty of light, and the youngest generations have directly benefited. The removal of these superlative rivals, against whom few beginners could without confusion be pitted, has given us opportunity to do justice to a large number of developing talents. It has, moreover, prevented the talents from being forced to develop in a way which was unsympathetic to their nature. All this, however, and so far as this is true, merely encourages the equal sprouting of underwood ; it has no effect on potential forest trees, or very little. Hence what we have seen in these last ten years is an enormous extension of literary activity, by no means symptomatic of creative and intellectual force. In other words, the trade of author has suddenly become exceedingly lucrative; so much so as to hide the fact that at no time since 1837 has literature, in the higher sense, been so quiescent as it is now.

There is one exception, however, and this of peculiar interest. The deaths of Arnold, of Browning, of Christina Rossetti, and still more of Tennyson, had an instant and almost entirely beneficial influence on poetry. Over the grave of the great Laureate, the newspapers foreboded that verse was dead. Never was there made a more unlucky prophecy. A whole group of various,

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but distinguished and enthusiastic poets, whose presence amongst us had been all but unperceived, came to the front, and renewed their own youth and ours. Nothing can be kept up at such a pressure as was the excitement in poetry between 1891 and 1895; the leaders in the new school have taken their places in current literature and will keep it, but genius no longer seems to burden every bough. It is too much to say that the poets of 1892 console us altogether for the intolerable losses our noblest literature was just then enduring; time has not yet sifted their final pretensions. But it is quite certain that the variety, delicacy, and fervor of its young versemen have done more to redeem the decade from the charge of poverty of spirit than any other products of the pen, and the spiritual quality which interpenetrates some of their best work offers the most encouraging phenomenon of recent intellectual life in England.

But, in other departments, it can scarcely be questioned that a very grave feature of the decade of which we speak has been the cessation of activity in the higher branches of literature. One section of letters, indeed, has flourished to an extremely disproportionate degree, namely fiction. A novel may be of the first or of the last order of merit; its rank depends entirely upon its author and his treatment. There is no dignity or value in a story apart from the skill with which the author tells it. Now, a work of history or philosophy or science, if it exists at all, has a basal value upon which any graces of the writer are superimposed. History, for instance, is the better for being written by a Gibbon or a Green; but it is respectable if compiled by a man of judgment and knowledge who can scarcely put two sentences together. So with most other branches of literature; even poetry has its metrical skeleton, its supporting prosody, for which technical training is required. But prose fiction has nothing whatever to guide it but the cleverness of the person who essays to tell us a tale under the hawthorn. The novel, therefore, is precisely the kind of published matter which we should expect to see abounding in an age indifferent to equipment, and rebellious to the intellectual hierarchy, for this is work which demands no training and bows to no tradition.

The extreme volubility and number of the novelists—a few of them really great, many of them interesting and amusing, the vast majority wholly worthless, mere cumberings of the press—

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must not deceive us as to the intellectual character of any epoch. The story-teller is our companion in every age. But although, to the commercialism of the day, the novel seems an extremely important factor in current letters, it has really proved in the past to be the most ephemeral. The great novelists, the Jane Austens and the Charlotte Brontës, the Fieldings and the Thackerays, live among the poets, by virtue of their style and their creative force. The rest, in their thousands, are drowned in immediate and final oblivion a few months after the issue of their books. The ordinary common novel, nowadays, is a mere *article de Paris* or variety of fancy goods. It is manufactured to amuse without a demand for mental effort, and to be thrown away.

It is true, none the less, that even this vast multiplication of novels within the decade now closing cannot be taken as a purely negative phenomenon. It shows a restless energy directed along lines not by any means purely unintellectual. If we compare the activity of English fiction with the deadness of the novel in Germany, or with the fashion in France for books of pure eccentricity, we have not anything to complain of. Excellent novels have been published in England since 1887, and of a singularly various order. The realistic, the antiquarian, the social-didactic, the supernatural, the military, and the idyllic schools have all flourished. An especial feature of the ten years has been the production of a crop of romances, written in broad Scotch for an English audience, but intelligible, it is said, to many readers north of the Tweed. With some of these stories there are issued useful glossaries which bring them within the reach of all. Early in the ten years, Mr. Rudyard Kipling arose, meteoric, like a god out of India, and straightway the field of fiction was infinitely widened. We have novels of Canada and of the Transvaal, of Borneo and of Tahiti.

Fashion grows with what it feeds on, and unquestionably the extreme vogue of this particular kind of book, the prose story, has drawn into its vortex many talents which had no original tendency in that direction. For example, Stevenson, manifestly born to be an essayist and perhaps a philosopher, was dragged, as a magnet draws a needle, to the irresistible rock of story-telling, and *Treasure Island*, begun as a joke for a boys' newspaper, was made the pioneer of a series of tales to which the author's exquisite style gave the persistence of literature. In Mrs. Hum-

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phrey Ward a most accomplished literary critic has been lost to us; in Mr. George Moore a candid student of sociology; in Mr. Stanley Weyman a historian of the school of Robertson. Among the departments of literary energy which are now the most neglected is scientific philosophy of the sort so brilliantly illustrated by two of the great men who have disappeared since 1888, by Tyndall and Huxley. The class of writer which they represented, the pioneer in physical discovery, who is also a splendid popular exponent, combining accurate research with the exercise of imagination and style, has ceased to exist in England. Mr. Wells might have risen in it to the highest consideration, but he prefers to tell little horrible stories about monsters. On all sides we may see, and we ought not to see without acute alarm, the finer talents being drawn from the arduous exercises to which nature intended to devote them to the facile fields of fiction.

The result of all this is that, to an extent which ought to occasion all serious observers no little alarm, the great reading public is rapidly becoming unable to assimilate any ideas at all, and to appreciate impressions it requires to have them presented to it in the form of a story. The multitude of readers grows every hour, but with these masses those individuals become fewer and fewer who are able to follow the path-ways of thought without the help of knowing what Edwin did and what Angelina wore. Specialists push the subdivision of observations about fact to an even more extreme nicety; but they only address other specialists. The rest of the world prefers to take its information and its excitement from two sources of entertainment, the newspaper and the novel. It is almost certain that if *Modern Painters* or *The Grammar of Assent* or even *The History of Civilization* had been published within the last ten years, it would have scarcely attracted any attention at all, outside a narrow circle. It is more than probable that Buckle and Newman, if not Mr. Ruskin, would have resigned themselves to the inevitable, and have tried to present their views and convictions in the form of tales.

This curious condition has been greatly encouraged, if it has not been mainly caused, by a change in English habits of life which will certainly interest and puzzle the historian of the future. If any feature of these last ten years has been more patent than another, it assuredly is the predominant prestige of the exterior parts of social existence. The human body has re-

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ceived an amount of attention such as no previous age, perhaps not even the Hellenic, had given it. The elements of education have come to reduce themselves more and more into a sort of disciplined athleticism, in which the mind is not indeed entirely neglected, but is made to take a very inferior position to the limbs. Our public schools have fostered this physical training to such an excess that in many of them participation in sports is more obligatory than attendance at lessons, and to be "good at games" is the only pathway to happiness in this world and the next. Masters are chosen not because of their scholarship or their tact, but because of their prowess at football or cricket, and even the good things of the Church may be secured to-day by the spirited application of a reputation for athletics.

The over-materialism of our educational centres, and the dangerous abuse of physical training, date from a period much earlier than 1888. But during the ten years which have just passed, the boys brought up under the athletic system have been in their prime as men of influence. In the general result, I should be the last to suggest that there has not been much to congratulate ourselves upon. This latest generation of Englishmen is healthy, active, and determined; its members are admirably fitted to employ the hours of their wholesome youth and vigorous middle age in energetic action and in spirited interference with the habits and wishes of inferior populations. They form the body-guard of a nation to which it is exceedingly convenient to belong. But these heroes of a thousand fields, these insatiable players of games which are but forms of mimic warfare, cannot expect, and fortunately do not wish, to excel in the peaceful exercises of the mind as well. What with its polo and its golf, its shooting and its fishing, and all its other enchanting physical exercises, the ruling class in England is much too tired and too happy when evening comes to devote its thought to any serious branch of study or to pursue any difficult train of thought. For the sons of men who used to sit up half the night discussing the *Origin of Species*, Mr. Anthony Hope prepares the sleeping draught of his soothing romances. There is nothing whatever to be sarcastic about in this. It acts like the rule of three. If you spend the day in violent strain of the muscles in the open air, it is absolutely impossible to work your brain at night, and it would be hurtful to you if you were to try to do so.

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In this respect the masses of the nation have paid to the rich flattery in its sincerest form. They also have accepted the physical or athletic ideal, and are cultivating it to extravagant excess. It is an admirable thing that young men of the working class should be able to relax their sinews and enjoy as many innocent sports as possible. But, in the fullest seriousness, I suggest that it is not admirable or wholesome, but puerile and almost crazy, that the record of these games should swell into the proportions of national events, that news about county cricket and football should take precedence of the most weighty affairs of state, and that hundreds and thousands of persons should be encouraged by their educated leaders in the press to consider a champion billiard-player a more exalted personage than a great statesman or a great scholar. I do not think that Englishmen of the more moderate way of thinking realize the violent degree to which the athletic ideal has pushed all others to the wall within the last few years. Matthew Arnold warned us that we had a barbarian class amongst us. If he had lived till to-day he might judge that we have practically no other.

While, however, I feel bound to express a certain alarm, or disquietude, at the turn which taste has taken during these last ten years, I am far from supposing it to constitute a lasting danger. It is easy to have too much intellectual strenuousness. We are resting a little, after the stern Middle Victorian priggishness. Literature is, after all, merely the reflection of life, and life may be so vivid as not to require to be illustrated. Doubtless the happy nations only read stories, and the millennium will probably know nothing but illustrated descriptions of its own prosperity. The existence of a Briton, since 1887, has been exceedingly varied and exciting. It has not encouraged contemplation ; it has been full-blooded, robust, contentious. There can be no amazement caused by the fact that those who have enjoyed it, those who have felt its tug at their muscles and their heart-strings, should have turned to books for amusement, and not for intellectual exertion. To follow the masters of thought demands laborious days, and Hegel is hardly the author to take up after a long spin on a bicycle. A sedative is what we have wanted, not a stimulant, rest for the brain, and not the stress of mental gymnastics. Nor would I for a moment pose as a scoffer or a satirist. I have the old, fatalistic conviction that whatever is is right. But I see no

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reason for claiming triumphs in the particular field where we have not been fighting, nor in pretending that a decade chiefly spent in other interests and with antagonistic habits has been one of brilliant literary progress. Without a suspicion of sarcasm, I merely record that the ten years since 1887 seem to me to have been marked in England, so far as literature is concerned, by an extraordinary removal of the great traditional figures which gave their tone to thought; by an excessive and unwieldy preponderance of one class of book—and that the class least amenable to criticism—namely, the novel; and by a growth of combined athleticism and commercialism highly unfavorable to art and letters.

EDMUND GOSSE.

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HAS JUDAISM A FUTURE?

BY PROF. ABRAM S. ISAACS, EDITOR OF "THE JEWISH MESSENGER."

It is difficult to secure a just and unbiased interpretation of Judaism as a modern religion, because the Jew who shares the honor of being included with priests, lawyers, and women in the capacious storehouse of uncomplimentary popular proverbs, is treated either with superlative praise or superlative condemnation. The want of due proportion in the estimate in both cases leads to faulty generalizing and gross injustice. For the Jew is neither angel nor fiend, but a profoundly human animal with all the defects and virtues, original and acquired, that are common to mankind, "Jew and Gentile, bond and free." Perhaps on the whole his enemies have done less harm than his friends. People like to be agreeably disappointed. It is pleasant to realize that the average Jew is certainly no fiend; and it is always more or less of a shock to discover that our idol is necessarily of clay. The Jew, then, is neither a Daniel Deronda nor a Fagin, neither a Shylock nor a Nathan.

That the Jew is treated as a rule with a prejudice which either exaggerates or distorts the truth, is due almost wholly to the amazing popular ignorance of his history and religion—an ignorance which unhappily is not confined to caricaturists in the comic weeklies or playwrights who revel in hooked noses and flashy jewellery as essentially Hebrew characteristics. Even to Thomas Carlyle, Judaism is simply a religion of "old clothes." So cultured and refined a critic as Goldwin Smith seems as much irritated when he touches upon the Jew as was Haman when he saw Mordecai at the gate. It would be harsh to say that the Jew is made a man of straw, a kind of theological scarecrow, dating from the early centuries, and sent adrift down the ages as a per-

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petual object-lesson in irreligion, contumacy, formalism, greed, to guileless children of light, who give him an extra kick two now and then, to keep themselves in practice, and satisfy their disingenuous piety. But is the charge without historic basis ?

Practically, the Jew who serves the nineteenth century moral and adorns its tale is the Jew of Gospel records—the Pharisee of the Pharisees, with all the reputed and none of the reputable traits of his class. If he is referred to in sermons and hymns, he is still the Jew of the New Testament. It is Caiaphas and Judas Iscariot who are his representative men. He is a Palestinian, wears broad phylacteries, and utters ghastly imprecations on his enemies in a language which can be understood only by the sacred few. Let him be anathema.

If the Jew, then, is so caricatured, need it excite suprise that Judaism receives as scanty justice ? It, too, is relegated to the past, to the lumber-room of antiquities. It is to be exhibited in a Semitic museum, forsooth, with the fossils and remains of primitive religions. Its rites and ceremonies are to be illustrated in glass cases for the special delectation of candidates for the ministry. It is to be dissected and analyzed for the benefit of students of comparative philology. It can be made to furnish interesting data in the fields of ethnography and anthropology. In one word, it can be tolerated as a skeleton or a corpse, but not as a living organism. It may be granted a past, but no present can be admitted and no future dare be insisted upon.

The Jew pleads for justice, not for glorification. His critics should cease to view him with the telescope, as if he were an occupant of another sphere. Let them abandon their microscope as well, in their fondness to detect the most minute defects, and lay aside favorite spectacles through which only their own mental strabismus can be discerned. Let them judge the Jew as he is. Let them study Judaism as it is. They will discover that both are very much alive. The time is past for labelling Judaism as pre-historic or the Jew as belonging to the extinct civilizations of the East, with the Phœnicians, Hittites, and the rest. Call him an arrested development, if you like ; a survival, an anachronism. He has survived, because, numerically weak, he has been spiritually strong. He has resisted his environment with all of his contradictions and limitations ; he has withstood with heroic endurance opposing forces and he withstands them still. The

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very methods adopted to extirpate him have been his salvation. The weapons forged against him, strange to say, have been his protection. In losing Palestine, he gained the universe. He was denationalized to become an international and cosmopolitan. The Orient was only one phase of his history. Just as the Babylonian captivity cured him forever of idolatry, his world-wandering is teaching him the universal spirit which is at the basis of Jewish prophetism. The remedy was radical, because the disease had reached its crisis and heroic measures were imperative.

It is an egregious blunder to consider Jewish history synonymous with Biblical history. The Old Testament tells simply of Jewish beginnings. The greater Jewish exodus did not end with the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. That historic migration still continues. The Hebrew, as the name etymologically suggests, is the emigrant of history—from the time of Abraham to our own age the movement continues. What is occurring in Russia, the landslides in recent decades from Germany, Poland, Roumania, this is but a grim repetition of the long series of migrations that mark every century. It is Persia in one epoch, Egypt in another, Italy and Greece in their turn, then Arab and Christian Spain, Central Europe, England, France, all links in an endless chain. Yet, despite the constant shifting of condition and environment, there were many breathing spells for the Jew when he could prove hammer as well as anvil, and become more than a silent factor in the world's advancement. The story of the Jew's influence on civilization, the record of his services in the arts and sciences, in literature, music, philosophy, and statecraft, is still to be written. The brief monograph of Schleiden requires to be supplemented by a more pretentious work of wider range.

If the critic of Judaism desires to gauge that religion accurately, he must familiarize himself with the history of the Jew in every land; he must follow the devious windings of his record East and West. He must account for that marvellous vitality which has been his preservative, and the unexampled adaptiveness which made the Jew at home, whether he saw the Guadalquivir or the Vistula at his feet, the Thames or the Euphrates, amid the orange groves of Sicily or the plains of Arabia—an adaptiveness which he still displays as settler in Australia, South

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Africa, or the Argentine. The critical inquirer, too, should ascertain the Jew's record in the lands of his dispersion and his relation to the state, however insecure his right of domicile. Did the Jew originally seek a Ghetto, or was it not an enforced seclusion as if he were contamination and needed to be kept aloof from the rest of mankind? Did the Jew avoid society and mingle only with his special clan, or was not that exclusiveness fostered and maintained by civil and ecclesiastical enactment? Was the Jew always a dealer in old clo', a money lender, the pawnbroker of humanity? The French Crémieux and James Darmesteter, the English George Jessel and Moses Montefiore, the Dutch Godefroi and Josef Israels, the German Edward Lasker and Berthold Auerbach, the Russian Rubinstein and Antokolski, George Brandes in Denmark, Luigi Luzzati in Italy, Emma Lazarus in America, are names of our time, who are but successors of illustrious leaders centuries ago in varied fields, Jews who served the state under caliph, king, and pontiff, who aided powerfully in the revival of learning, the discoveries of science, in the dissemination of knowledge and literature. The true student of Jewish history, too, must become acquainted with the inner life of the Jew and the story of the synagogue's development, its devotional and intellectual range, the growth and ramification of Jewish law and custom, which became burden and blessing both, a crown as well as a yoke.

If his inquiry has been genuine, the critic will realize that the Jew's history, far from having ended when the temple fell and Jerusalem became Ælia Capitolina, has been and is still a continuous record. If the study has been thorough and not superficial, it will be found that Judaism, too, has been in constant growth and change, and is in itself a striking illustration of the theory of evolution. Whatever views one may hold of the composition of the Old Testament and the respective dates of its books, to speak of the prophetism of the patriarchs is as much an anachronism as to refer to the rabbinism of Moses or the Judaism of the Judges. One must be prepared to admit distinct phases in the history and development of Judaism, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Ezra, from Ezra to Jochanan ben Zaccai, who founded the school from which Talmudism sprang; from the sages of the Talmud to the mediæval rabbis with whom the rabbinical era began; from Maimonides and his successors with the

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development of local codes and customs, which became the orthodoxy of their age, to Mendelssohn, the forerunner of a new epoch, contemporary with the French Revolution on the one hand and the birth of the American republic on the other. Judaism is thus a growth, not an instantaneous creation. The marvellous changes it has witnessed from the day when the Israelites received the olden tabernacle, with its minutiæ of worship, to its latest developments in cultured lands of our time, are but forecasts, perhaps, of greater changes to come.

What, then, of Judaism's future? What will be its final phase, after the travail of ages, the crucifixion of the centuries? Surely the solution of the Jewish problem cannot be the dissolution of Judaism, the total absorption of the Jew by the nations, his abrupt disappearance from the field. Leaving out of the question all theological prejudices, and facing the problem as students of history, the Jew's persistence on the stage of human effort, despite ten thousand odds, is not likely to weaken as the ages advance. He has more factors in his favor than ever before. The world has grown. It is ceasing to be a battle-ground of the creeds, which are slowly becoming lines, not walls. Ugly hatreds and prejudices still are held, but the borderland of the religions is widening day by day, as their agreements, not differences, are kept in view.

The ultimate phase of Judaism baffles inquiry as much as the ultimate phase of human progress. Two opinions, both purely speculative, may be given here. Each is stoutly advocated, with proof-texts in abundance. The one sees the future of Judaism in a rehabilitated Jewish state, with Jerusalem its capital, which shall prove a court of arbitration for the nations, thus diffusing peace and happiness throughout the universe even as the sparks of the sacrificial offerings fly upward. The other finds the future of Judaism not in the absorption of the Jew by the nations, but in the absorption of the nations by the Jew, the thorough permeating of mankind by the spirit of Judaism, as manifested successively by Christianity, Mohammedanism, and the religion of those who recognize God, virtue, and immortality. It claims that the tendency in all modern faiths is toward unity, simplicity, and purification; that as the process continues with the widening of the suns the nations will slip off their theologies and theogonies and derive more comfort from the prophet than from the casuist.

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If in the final outcome all forms of faiths disappear and a new combination arises, the law of the conservation of spiritual forces must still hold sway, and not one jot or tittle of the inspiration in the Testaments that have impelled mankind to righteousness will ever be lost. The resultant religion will not be different in spirit to the declaration of the Pentateuch, which is voiced by the Christian Gospel and finds its echo in the bibles of many creeds: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." When the nations shall have reached the heights of perfect brotherhood, Judaism's future will have dawned. It will cheerfully lay down its shield and sword, its rod and staff. The end of religions will have come in the birth of religion!

ABRAM S. ISAACS.

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OUR INTEREST IN SAMOA.

BY THE HON. HENRY C. IDE, LATE CHIEF-JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF SAMOA.

ON the 14th day of June, 1889, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, the German Empire, and the United States, at Berlin, agreed upon a treaty, or general act, the first article of which declared "that the islands of Samoa are neutral territory. . . . Neither of the powers shall exercise any separate control over the islands or the government thereof." The primary purpose of the treaty was to maintain the neutrality of the islands. The incidental objects were to prevent dissensions between the several governments, to provide for the security of aliens in Samoa, and, "as far as possible," to promote the interests of the Samoan people. The remaining articles provide machinery for accomplishing these results. The treaty, having been duly ratified, was followed by the organization of the new government nearly two years later, the Supreme Court first opening its doors in June, 1891.

The Opposing Claims.—This international compact has been the subject of earnest discussion in our country, especially during President Cleveland's second administration, and President Cleveland and Secretary Gresham repeatedly recommended a withdrawal from it by the United States. It is urged that the islands are unsuited in climate for the residence of white people; that commercially they are worthless; that the inhabitants are intractable; that the new government is expensive and annoying to our State Department; that it fails to secure the results hoped for; and that it involves an entangling foreign alliance, alien to our traditions and best interests.

Upon the other side it is said that our rights in Samoa already secured are most valuable; that its neutrality and independence are matters of great national importance; that the recent adverse

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reports relating to its climate and commercial possibilities are contradictory to all former official reports, and come from persons especially appointed to make them, and who remained in Samoa only long enough to prepare them; that so far as the new government has been unsuccessful its failure has been largely due to the want of loyal support by the United States; that the new government has in fact accomplished all that could reasonably have been expected; that the expense of continuing it is too trivial to be worthy of consideration, and that we should retain the strong position which we have acquired. It is the purpose of the present article to throw such light upon this discussion as a residence in Samoa during the greater portion of the year 1891 as United States Land Commissioner, and from 1893 to 1897 as Chief Justice under the treaty, may enable the writer to give.

The Treaty Was Our Deliberate Action.—Historically considered, our present relation to Samoa has not been hastily or secretly adopted. It has slowly, year by year, in the light of repeated official reports, special commissions for purposes of investigation, ample discussion in Congress, by the press and in Presidential messages, assumed its present phase. If the treaty was a mistake, it was one deliberately made, with all the light now available, except that which has come from the short period of its practical working.

For more than twenty-five years we have had a Consular representative in Samoa to give us full information upon every detail. In 1872 the High Chief of Pago Pago granted to our government the exclusive privilege of establishing a naval station in that harbor. In 1873 President Grant sent a special agent to Samoa to investigate and report, whose exhaustive report was submitted to the Forty-third Congress. In 1877 a treaty was negotiated between the governments of Samoa and the United States, and ratified in 1878, wherein it was, among other things, provided that "naval vessels of the United States shall have the privilege of entering and using the port of Pago Pago, and establishing therein and on the shores thereof a station for coal and other naval supplies for their naval and commercial marine, and the Samoan government will hereafter neither exercise nor authorize any jurisdiction within said port adverse to such rights of the United States or restrictive thereof," and that, in case of

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difficulties arising between Samoa and other nations, the government of the United States "will employ its good offices for the purpose of adjusting those difficulties upon a satisfactory and solid foundation." This treaty was extensively discussed by the press. On its conclusion special reports upon the whole subject, commercial and political, were furnished to the State Department by its representative, Mr. Goward, who had accompanied the Samoan ambassador on his return to Samoa, and they were duly transmitted to the Forty-sixth Congress. In 1886 Hon. George H. Bates, the law partner of Secretary Bayard, was sent to Samoa by President Cleveland "as special agent to investigate and report." His report, together with those of similar German and English "special agents" appointed at the same time, were transmitted to the Fiftieth Congress. Mr. Bates' report was exhaustive, able, and truthful. In 1887 a conference between the authorized representatives of the three powers for the purpose of negotiating a treaty securing the autonomy and neutrality of Samoa was held at Washington and was "adjourned," because Secretary Bayard considered that the scheme proposed by the other negotiators secured to Germany too great a preponderance of influence in the proposed new government. In January, 1889, Hon. Harold M. Sewall, of Bath, Me., for five years our Consul General in Samoa, testified at great length, for several days, before the sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate, his examination covering every phase of the question, historical, political, and commercial. In 1889 Congress, after adequate discussion, with the recent and full light of Mr. Bates' report and Mr. Sewall's evidence, appropriated $500,000 for the protection of our interests in Samoa. During all these years the subject was repeatedly brought to the attention of Congress by messages from successive Presidents. All this transpired before the negotiations of the Berlin act. It may, therefore, fairly be said that the treaty was a deliberate act of national policy in our international relations, entered into with sufficient knowledge of the subject in all its phases, and a knowledge far more reliable, considering the different sources from which it came and the length of time given for the correction of all errors, than any since acquired.

It was a National, not a Political, Act.—The treaty was in

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no sense an act of partisan politics or for the furtherance of the policy of any political party. It is true that it was negotiated in the early months of President Harrison's administration, and was confirmed at a time when the Republicans controlled the Senate, and in that sense that party is responsible for it. But on President Harrison's advent to office, the question of our relations to Samoa was no longer an open one. We had assumed international positions upon that subject which could not be receded from with self-respect, and without disregard for that continuity of action in our relations with foreign powers which is essential to national dignity and good relations with other nations. President Cleveland in a special message to Congress in January, 1887, had said, "I have insisted that autonomy and independence of Samoa should be scrupulously preserved," a result which could be secured only by treaty. At the Washington Conference, when the first attempt to agree upon the treaty was made on June 25, 1887, Secretary Bayard submitted at the outset a plan for the new government of Samoa, the first article of which was: "The independence and autonomy of the kingdom composed of these islands are to be preserved free from the control or preponderating influence of any foreign government." One article proposed by Secretary Bayard was: "Each of the Treaty Powers will alternately keep four months in each year a man-of-war in Samoan waters, to assist in maintaining the government so to be established, and to preserve peace and order;" which clearly shows that it was not then contemplated that a new government should be established in an untried field, and then left to its fate without either physical or moral support. If we have departed from our traditional policy in our action in regard to Samoa, that departure was widest under President Cleveland's first administration. Prince Bismarck proposed a resumption of the conference, exciting events, to be hereafter referred to, having meanwhile intervened. On February 5, Secretary Bayard accepted the proposal in a letter to Count Arco, wherein he stated that the conference should "be renewed on the basis of the equal rights of the three Treaty Powers . . . and such a neutralization of territorial jurisdiction as will prevent preponderant control by any nation." The conference was thus agreed upon, as well as the general lines and scope of its work, in the closing month

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of President Cleveland's administration, and President Harrison, coming into office on March 4, soon appointed John A. Kasson, William Walter Phelps, and George H. Bates, representing both political parties, as plenipotentiaries to negotiate the treaty.

Its Fundamental Purpose.—It will be observed that the primary object of all our actions relating to Samoa was not the development of commerce, or the rescue of the Samoans from their own internal conflicts. These latter objects, desirable and important as they are, were secondary and incidental, results to be hoped for as flowing from the means adopted for securing the neutralization of the Islands and the preservation of our rights at Pago Pago. Hence, all arguments based on the alleged failure of the treaty immediately to develop commerce in a country whose resources are still largely awaiting the vitalizing touch of industry, and to secure, as by a magic wand, the settled order and peace of old civilizations among a people who have never felt the restraining hand of a central authority, are largely, though not wholly, irrelevant. The important question is, was it unwise in a national sense to have attempted the neutralization of the Islands by international compact? For there was no other possible way to secure that result. It is a very late date to enter anew upon that discussion, after twenty years of prior consideration and the final assumption of international duties from the faithful performance of which we cannot recede without a humiliating admission of vacillation and improvident, though deliberate, action.

*Growing Importance of the Pacific.**—In 1852, William H. Seward, in the United States Senate, said: "The Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast region beyond will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter." That prophecy is rapidly on the way towards fulfilment. Our own Pacific slope has nearly fifteen hundred miles of sea frontage and a population nearly equal to that of all the thirteen colonies when the Declaration of Independence was signed, while its internal and external commerce are increasing by leaps and bounds. To the north lies British Columbia, with its mines of gold and coal, its millions of acres of forest and its rich agricultural lands, opened to the Atlantic by a mag-

* See Hon. Lorrin A. Thurston's article, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, No. 461.

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nificent railway system, and to all the Eastern lands by admirably equipped steamship lines. To the south lie the constantly developing countries of Mexico, Central America, Chile, and the other South American nations. On the southwest lie the British colonies, rapidly crystallizing into a great republican federation. To the west lies Japan, a country of forty million of marvellously enterprising and ingenious people, and China with her enormous population and immeasurable possibilities, now opening up to the world. To the northwest lies Siberia, the largest country in the world, in natural resources one of the richest, in the very act of being developed upon the Pacific Coast by a government of absolute power.

Nearly $4,000,000 per annum are paid by Great Britain and her colonies for subsidies for steamship and cable communications in or to the Pacific. With the completion of the Nicaragua Canal there will pour into the Pacific by the new route to the Orient and to Australasia the measureless traffic between those countries and all our Atlantic seaboard and a considerable portion of Europe.

International Importance of Samoa.—In the centre of this ever-increasing commerce in the northern hemisphere lie the Hawaiian Islands, with no other neighboring group to diminish their importance. Laying aside the debatable question of the annexation of those islands, few can be found who would for a moment concede that the "moral suzerainty" which we have for many years maintained over them should be weakened in any degree. The attempt by any foreign power to seize them would be resented as an unfriendly act by any administration, and would be resisted by force, as has been substantially declared by Mr. Webster, Mr. Legaré, Mr. Clayton, Mr. Marcy, Mr. Fish, Mr. Blaine, Mr. Frelinghuysen, and Mr. Bayard.

In the South, Pacific European nations have been swift to seize upon the vantage points. With the French in Tahiti and New Caledonia, the Spanish in the Carolines and Philippines, the Germans in the Marshall Islands, New Guinea, New Britain, and other groups, and the British in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, the Solomons, and many other groups, and exercising a practical protectorate over Tonga, there is no independent group left except Samoa. But these islands, lying south 10 degrees and west 173 degrees, are in the very path of commerce. They are

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central to all movements in the South Pacific. Directly past them go all steamers between our Pacific coast and Australia. Here a Pacific cable will doubtless find one of its stations. Samoa stands as a sentinel and outpost in that vast southern sea, just as Hawaii does in the northern. If it is appropriated by any foreign power, we have no foothold left south of the equator, no place to which we can go as a matter of right. When we once relax our grasp we do so forever. Immediate annexation by England or Germany would follow, and those hands never open to release what they have closed upon.

Our Interests at Pago Pago.—Our modern warships are absolutely dependent on frequent coal supplies. As Mr. McAdoo said in his speech in the House: "All the greatest nations of the world are trying to secure for themselves places where they can get supplies of coal in emergencies. . . . This harbor of Pago Pago is a great advantage to us, and we have gotten it in an honorable way." Without criticising the opinions of respectable gentlemen who have never been within many miles of Pago Pago, but have recently officially reported that the harbor is of little value, it will be useful for a moment to see how it has been regarded by those who *have* seen it, and whose opinions are of especial value. In 1830 it was visited by that veteran missionary of the South Seas, John Williams, who reported that the harbor was an excellent one and should be acquired by England. In 1839 Admiral Wilkes visited it, and after describing it fully says: "This is of all the ports the best fitted for the refitting of vessels." In 1871 Captain Wakeman, sent out to report by the famous shipbuilder William H. Webb, wrote: "I found myself in the most perfectly land-locked harbor that exists in the Pacific Ocean," and gave full and satisfactory descriptions of widths, depths, landmarks, etc. In 1873 the British Consul at Samoa reported to his government the existence of an agreement transferring to the United States important concessions "in the magnificent harbor of Pago Pago," and expressed the hope that in case of failure of subsequent negotiations, "it may be possible to transfer the overtures of the chiefs to ourselves." In the very same year, the North German Confederation had instructed its Consul to secure the control of Pago Pago harbor, but he arrived too late. Our commander had completed his work. Our Commissioner, Mr. Goward, wrote from Pago Pago

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in 1878: "The harbor of Pago Pago is the most important in the South seas." *Findlay's South Pacific Directory*, the standard of navigation for those waters, says of Pago Pago: "It is a deep, land-locked basin, of easy approach, and perfectly secure anchorage."

For the more perfect realization of the rights secured to us, Secretary Tracy ordered a survey of the harbor to be made, which was carried out under the direction of Admiral Kimberly, and the most valuable portions of the shore front, as selected by him, were purchased in fee in 1889 and 1890 and are now absolutely owned by the United States government. To the suggestion that we have not secured title to enough of the shore front, the obvious reply is that if Admiral Kimberly's judgment was at fault, the adequate remedy is to buy more land. There are no known obstacles in the way, either of fact or law. The Berlin Act recognizes the validity of the former treaty with the United States, and does not forbid the acquisition of land by our government. In fact, many of our present titles were acquired since the execution of the Berlin act and have long since been confirmed by the Supreme Court of Samoa.

No one has better stated, in brief form, the reasons for the treaty than did Secretary Bayard at the Washington conference, where he said to his associates:

"These islands lie in the pathway of a commerce that is just being developed. There is something beyond the mere material present value of the land or the products." In his instructions to Mr. Bates he wrote: "The Samoan Islands are to-day almost the sole remaining neutral territory in Oceanica. . . . The principle of neutralization is of special importance to the United States, for in no other part of Polynesia is a right of this nature possessed by them." In his instructions to the plenipotentiaries who negotiated the Berlin act, Secretary Blaine said: "The interests of the United States require the possession of a naval station in those remote parts of the Pacific, and by a treaty with the lawful authorities of Samoa they have been put in control of the harbor of Pago Pago for these purposes. We cannot consent to the institution of any form of government in Samoa subject directly or indirectly to influences which, in the contingencies of the future, might check or control the use or the development of this American right."

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In the light of these facts it is a matter of surprise to read in Secretary Gresham's communication to President Cleveland of May 9, 1894, recommending substantially a withdrawal from the treaty, elaborate arguments based upon difficulties of administration, and its failure to increase our commerce, or to benefit the natives of Samoa, without the slightest mention of the fact that we had already acquired the shores of Pago Pago and that the security of our rights there and the neutralization of the islands were the prime factors which had controlled our action. The real question was absolutely untouched by the distinguished Secretary.

Climatic and Commercial Considerations.—A word should be said, incidentally, about the climate and possible resources and commerce of Samoa. The climate is necessarily tropical, and that imports such diseases as are incidental to tropical countries. An occasional year, like 1894, can be selected, when influenza or some fever has prevailed, which will show a high death rate among white residents. But there are no statistics existing, and no facts known, tending to show that Samoa is not one of the most salubrious of tropical countries. With a temperature in which sixty degrees and ninety degrees, Fahrenheit, are the extremes of heat and cold, relieved during the greater portion of the year by refreshing trade winds, with a luxuriant and marvellously beautiful tropical foliage, with absolute freedom from all noxious animals, and with a native population picturesque, kindly, polite, and hospitable, Samoa is in many respects a most delightful place of residence. The writer's own family, including three ladies, never, on the whole, before enjoyed as good health as during the years of their residence in Samoa. It was the only place in which Robert Louis Stevenson could enjoy life. In his own Scotland he must cling to the fireside or creep out of doors wrapped in a shawl. In his beloved Samoa he lived out of doors, rode horseback, took long excursions about the islands by boat, and was a man among men until the bursting of a blood vessel in his teeming brain ended his brilliant career. His family still live in the island home.

The soil is rich and productive. It supports a population of between 30,000 and 40,000 people in comparative idleness, while only mere fringes are yet under cultivation. He would be a rash man who would venture to say that the day would not come, and

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at no remote date, when a great population would find its delightful home and abundant sustenance in these fruitful islands. The "Great American Desert," once denounced in the United States Senate, as unfit for human habitation, is now partially divided into great States, among the most prosperous in our Union. Fifty years ago little could be said of the Hawaiian Islands, except that there Captain Cook was murdered. To-day their commerce invites the heavily laden ships of many nations, but those of our own country incomparably beyond all others. Looking backward, what should we now say of the statesmanship that thirty, or even twenty, years ago would have allowed any European power to absorb Hawaii without remonstrance upon our part, upon the ground that its commerce was then insignificant, or that rebellion and political upheaval were imminent, or actually existing? In such a question, the possible future, not the insignificant and transient present, is to be the guide of wise political action.

Abandonment of Samoa by President Cleveland.—Manifestly no reasonable man could have expected that the treaty, under the best of circumstances, could prevent the depreciation in the world's market of the price of copra, the principal product of the Islands. That depreciation arose from increased production in other parts of the world. Its effect was necessarily to produce hardship and political discontent in Samoa, just as similar depreciation in the value of staple products in the United States produced similar results. Nor could it be expected that a new government, established among a people untrained to submission to a central authority, among whom the chief was the unit of political power, divided into factions with prejudices as bitter and deep as those of the ancient Scotch Highlanders, enjoying political excitement as the very breath of life, accustomed from time immemorial to settle their political and factional controversies by fighting, could heal these ancestral controversies and ensure established peace and good order, without substantial physical and moral support for a time. Water so long troubled could not be quieted by the mere command, "Peace, be still!" No one did so expect when the treaty was made.

At the Washington conference the fifteenth article of Secretary Bayard's proposal was: "Each of the Treaty Powers will alternately keep four months in the year a man-of-war in Samoa

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to assist in maintaining the government so to be established and to preserve peace and order." Mr. Bates in his report says: "The central government must be, for a time at least, *administered* by the three Treaty Powers." On February 20, 1892, Secretary Blaine wrote to Sir Julian Pauncefote: "In order to carry out the spirit of the Berlin Treaty, it would be advisable for the Treaty Powers to sustain in some proper and judicious way the recognized authorities of Samoa, and suggests the use of men-of-war for that purpose, particularly in enforcing the warrants of the Supreme Court." On June 19, 1893, Secretary Gresham wrote to Sir Julian Pauncefote that the government of the United States "will join in an active demonstration for the purpose of surrounding Mataafa and his followers and disarming them."

But during the whole four years of President Cleveland's administration no American warship was ever seen in Samoan waters. In no single instance has the enforcement of any process of the Supreme Court of Samoa been aided, either physically or morally, by any warship or other aid furnished by the Powers. Meanwhile, not only did our government withhold its promised aid, but what was far more deleterious, it withdrew its moral support. The President in his annual messages for 1893–1894–1895 recommended a withdrawal from the treaty. This, of course, was known by all in Samoa. The factions of natives knew it, and that the Powers were not united in supporting the treaty. They naturally quickly join an opposition upon the least show of weakness. The desertion by the United States bore its legitimate fruit, and so-called civil war broke out. Under date of December 5, 1894, the United States Consul-General in Samoa wrote to the State Department: "That the United States is to withdraw is accepted as a fact by the general community." The *Samoan Herald* of September 12, 1896, editorially said: "The United States has evinced a positively disgraceful disregard of her obligations under the treaty. . . . She gave absolutely no assistance to the other Treaty Powers in quieting disturbances and restoring order here; not a vessel of her navy has deigned to call here for years, and the present administration has made frequent efforts to scuttle out of Samoa altogether. We admit that we have received from the United States an able judge. . . . So far as we know this is the only benefit America has conferred upon the country. In view of all this it certainly does seem rather

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cool for the official representative of the United States to talk about some injustice to America which he does not define, and no one knows anything about." It is within the bounds of extreme moderation to say that so far as the new government has been successful, it has won that success under most adverse circumstances, and more in spite of the opposition of the United States government than by reason of its support. The wonder is, not that the success has not been greater, but that so much can be shown of good results in the face of great difficulties.

Results Secured by the Treaty.—For the treaty can show some positive results that are worthy of consideration. It should first be viewed with reference to the conditions existing at the time it was negotiated. The danger that is past soon becomes, in public consideration, the danger that never existed. But in 1887 and 1888 the relations between our country and Germany had become strained to the danger point. In the face of a mutual understanding to the contrary, Germany had by force attempted to seize Samoa. The natives of that country were divided into hostile camps of armed warriors, one supported by German arms, and one by British Colonials and citizens of the United States. More than fifty young and brave German sailors had been killed or wounded in a single battle wherein the opposing force was openly supplied with arms, ammunition, food, courage, and brains by American citizens. Actual, though not nominal, warfare existed between Germans and Americans in Samoa. Martial law was proclaimed in Apia by the German officials, and the attempt was made to enforce it upon American citizens. Two German warships and three bearing the Stars and Stripes were crowded into the little harbor of Apia.

Commander Leary, of the United States warship "Adams," on September 6, 1888, formally wrote to Captain Fritze, of the German corvette "Adler": "I hereby respectfully and solemnly protest in the name of the United States of America and of the civilized world in general against the use of a national war vessel for such service as was yesterday rendered by the German corvette 'Adler.'" Commander Leary also formally notified the German ruler of Samoa, that any violation of the rights of American citizens by his authority "would be considered a just and sufficient cause for such action as may be deemed proper." Whatever the meaning of these communications may

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have been, they clearly were not pacific; coming from a war-ship they were decidedly threatening. The Navy Department instructed our commanders "to interfere vigorously should occasion arise to protect the persons and property of American citizens." Marines were landed to protect the American consulate, and there to furnish a refuge for our citizens. Our grievances were in part thus stated by Secretary Blaine: "To subject the citizens of the United States to the inspection of the German navy; to require reports from each household as to arms kept for its necessary protection; to make permission from the German authorities a needed prerequisite to the natural right of American citizens to guard themselves from danger; to inquire into the character of even their rumored conversations and hold them answerable therefor to the summary proceedings of a German court-martial. All these were trials and indignities to which they ought never to have been subjected." The press teemed with inflammatory condemnations of German aggressions. Congress appropriated $500,000 for the defence of our interests in Samoa. Stocks were affected. A single indiscreet act might have precipitated hostilities. Many of the wars of modern times have sprung from conditions far less critical. At such a moment, the proposition for a renewal of the negotiations of a treaty securing the neutrality and autonomy of Samoa came upon the scene like a benediction. War was averted. Honorable peace was secured without surrender of national dignity or the abandonment of a single right. The friendship of two great nations, already sadly strained, was renewed. There are those who consider this one fact far more than adequate compensation for all that the treaty has cost, and that the treaty, instead of being an "entangling alliance," relieved us from a most dangerous situation. In the next place, it has secured the neutrality and autonomy of the Islands, perfected our titles to the lands on the shores of Pago Pago harbor for a coaling station, and has given us a standing ground and substantial position of influence in the South Seas, from which we cannot be dislodged without our own consent. On the other hand, it has preserved the native Samoans from falling absolutely upon the the tender mercies of the Germans.

Again, it has secured to our citizens now resident in Samoa, and to such of them as shall hereafter carry our flag and our

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commerce thither, absolute equality with all others in trade and protection of the laws and freedom from aggressions by other nationalities. Those who are familiar with the utter annihilation of American trade in the Marshall Islands by unjust discriminations in favor of German merchants in customs and other legal exactions will know that German protection in Samoa would have meant not merely the ruin of all our countrymen now resident there, but also our permanent exclusion from all commercial facilities in the future.

Again, the great majority of aliens reside in Apia. By the treaty the Municipal District of Apia was created with special powers of local government. That municipality is as well governed as municipal corporations of its size are in old civilized countries. It has an elective council, efficient police, a municipal court, lighted streets, valuable land and building for customs sheds and police court, and approximately ten miles of road, all well rounded and ditched, and nearly one-half of it macadamized with the cheap and useful coral and gravel immediately at hand. After sixty years of partial occupancy by missionaries and traders at the time the treaty was made, only two pleasure carriages had, during all those years, ventured into the country. Now there are nearly one hundred in Apia alone. More progress has been made in the municipality in the way of acquisition of public property, facilities for extinguishing fire and the building of roads and bridges within the six years since the treaty went into actual operation than in all the sixty prior years. All this has been done under adverse circumstances, but without incurring debt.

Again, until the treaty was made, the Samoan government had not where to lay its head. The peninsula near Apia, where the government was supposed to have its seat, was claimed by the Germans, and the government did not own an acre of land. Now the German claim upon the peninsula has been satisfied and the government owns the property in fee. Upon it have been erected valuable government buildings. A fair carriage road westerly for thirty miles along the north shore of the Island of Upolu has been built and opened to travel within the last year. While road building has really only begun, yet more has been done in that direction since the making of the treaty than in all time before that date. In all this the government has paid its own way. It is not in debt.

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Again, the provisions of the treaty prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to natives are well enforced, and are exceedingly valuable. Public sentiment favors their enforcement. A drunken native is a rare sight. The fine-looking and courtly Samoan race is at present in no danger of the degeneration and annihilation that come to all aboriginal races in the presence of the unstinted use of alcoholic drinks.

Again, all authorities agree that the confusion of land titles was one of the most fruitful sources of friction between natives and aliens. Foreigners held deeds from natives of far more land than there was in all Samoa. Many of the titles were fraudulent, and conflicted with one another. There was no court competent to deal with the question, and no one could safely invest money in land or develop industries until titles were settled. All progress was necessarily stayed. The treaty provided adequate tribunals for undertaking this great work, which has now been brought to a successful conclusion. Hundreds of thousands of acres have been restored to natives. They are not to be a homeless people in their own country. They have abundant fertile land to supply their wants and those of their posterity for all time. Their title is absolute, and the treaty prohibits further alienation by them except under the strictest supervision of the Chief Justice. The benefit to the Samoans is incalculable. But, on the other hand, the benefit to aliens is equally great. Every alien title has been finally passed upon by the court, and unassailable grants have been issued. A complete system of registration of titles has been adopted. Every acre of alien land in Samoa can "read its title clear." In no country can more certainty of a solid title be obtained. Capital can now be safely invested in lands. Controversies with natives are largely ended by the removal of this great cause of friction. The most perplexing of all questions in New Zealand and Fiji has for many years been the obtaining of good titles to native lands. That work has all been finished quickly and cheaply in Samoa. In this respect the treaty has deserved and received the gratitude of Samoans and foreigners alike, and has amply vindicated the wisdom of its authors.

Finally the establishment of the Supreme Court has secured important results. Before the treaty the attendance of parties or witnesses could not be compelled, except in the Consulate of

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the defendant, and there other nationals could not be compelled to appear as witnesses. No court had general jurisdiction. An American aggrieved by a German must remain without redress or go into the German Consulate to try his case, by German law, before a German judge. The new court, administering a uniform system of English law, having jurisdiction over all controversies between different nationals, revising judgments of native tribunals, freed from national prejudices by the international character of its appointment, has commanded respect and obedience, and has proved a useful object lesson to the teachable Samoans. In a very few instances its authority has been defied temporarily by rebellious natives in remote parts of the islands, but in nearly every such instance the matter in controversy has ultimately been properly adjusted. All this has been accomplished wholly by moral force, without the aid of the Powers in a single instance.

Manifestly some of the important results hoped for have been secured, and Secretary Gresham's official declaration that, "the expenses, the responsibilities, and the entanglements have so far been its only fruits," would seem somewhat overdrawn.

Objections Considered.—But something more specific should be said upon the subject of expenses and difficulties. The expenses of negotiating the treaty, paying the first year's salary of the Chief Justice, and the cost of the International Land Commission were large, and were borne by the three Powers equally. The Commission finished its work in 1894. All the items of large expense are past. Since the first year, the new government has paid its own way without assistance except as to the items next to be mentioned. It might be thought that, inasmuch as we *had* incurred large expenditures in the initial work of the treaty, and as that expense was now ended, that fact was an argument for holding on to the treaty and realizing the benefit of our investment. The maintenance of a Consul in Samoa is no part of the expense of the treaty. We had one in Samoa many years before the treaty was thought of. The only known expenses which our government has incurred in relation to Samoa since 1894, aside from the expense for surveying, are one-third of the expenses of maintaining Mataafa and his associate rebels in the Marshall Islands, and the transportation expenses of the two foreign officials,

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the Chief Justice and President of the municipality of Apia, whenever new officials are appointed. The former item, support of Mataafa and the chiefs, costs our government less than $500 per annum, and this expense is temporary. The other item, transportation, occurs only about once in four years and at the highest estimate will not cost more than $800 per year on the average. The actual expense to our government of continuing the treaty will apparently be less than $1,500 per year, a petty sum to be made the ground of receding from our solemn international compact. Even if the new government should occasionally receive a little assistance, every River and Harbor Appropriation Bill in Congress dedicates a far larger amount for improving some mud creek, in the name of promoting commerce, than will be required for maintaining our hold upon a group of islands lying in the very pathway of enormous commercial interests. If a warship should occasionally be sent by us to Samoa, as is done by the other Powers, and as should be done by us, the cost is no more than that of maintaining the warships in other remote parts of the world where they carry our flag. Congress did not consider $500,000 too great a sum to be appropriated for the protection of our interests in Samoa. The native troubles, though greatly to be deplored, have been magnified enormously in official and other correspondence. Samoa is an international megaphone. The firing of a few muskets in a bush scrimmage there seems to echo and re-echo all over the world, and to be amplified into salvos of artillery and volleys from great armies. The killed and wounded in all the fighting in Samoa during the last seven years would not equal the number of dead and maimed in a single railway accident in the United States. Not a foreigner has been touched, nor has his property been invaded by reason of those hostilities, except by the petty stealing incident to disturbed conditions. Absolute peace has prevailed for nearly three years. It is of little importance to aliens whether all Samoans do or do not recognize allegiance to King Malietoa as long as they keep the peace. The treaty recognizes their right to govern themselves in their own way in all particulars save those specially otherwise provided for. Some disturbances were to be expected in such a country as Samoa. They were, are, and will be inevitable. Even in our own country, which we are wont to

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regard as the final fruition of the teachings of all the ages in good government, we read of more lynchings than legal executions year by year; we see governors of a great State vainly trying for years to execute criminal process upon Jesse James, and finally succeeding only by the aid of hired assassins; our Indian Territory filled with murder and violence, railway trains wrecked and robbed, and the commerce of half a continent paralyzed by unrestrained mobs. Surely we may excuse poor Samoa if she does not instantly abandon all her old ways, and leap at one bound into the blessings of perfect order and peace. The life of any decently behaved white man is as secure in any portion of Samoa as in the most quiet hamlet of rural New England.

It has been a subject of unfriendly comment that the King of Samoa receives a mean and insignificant allowance. This is true. But it is equally true that he receives far more, and with far more regularity, than either he or any other King of Samoa ever received before the making of the treaty. His condition in that respect has been greatly improved by the treaty. According to the official publication entitled *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1889*, page 324, the first item in Samoan budgets of expenditure was: "Two Kings at $500 each. . . . $1,000," Clearly, kings were far cheaper in those days than now, when a single one receives $1,800 per year from the Treasury, and an abundance of all he needs, supplied to him by his people.

Some criticism has been made upon the salaries paid to the two foreign officials, and their expenses, but it is a just measure of the reasonableness of these expenditures to say that the whole expenses of maintaining the Samoan government, including the salaries of the two foreign officials, but not including the other expenses of the municipality of Apia, are less than those of the German Consular office in Apia, with its staff and offices. The German government is not accustomed to extravagance, but does believe in the utility of a well-trained and well-paid Consular service. That there are defects in the treaty, shown by its practical working, particularly in its unjust and unworkable provisions for taxation, is true. This was anticipated. The treaty provided that, "Upon the request of either Power, after three years from the signature hereof, the Powers shall consider by common accord what ameliorations, if any, may be introduced into the provisions of their general act."

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Future Action.—In the face of successive recommendations of a withdrawal from the treaty by President Cleveland, Congress has taken no action. Manifestly the country did not respond to the President's appeals. The question is not, shall we enter upon a career of extension and annexation in the Pacific? That question is closed. The field is occupied; everything in the Pacific, except Hawaii and Samoa, has been annexed and appropriated by other Powers.

The real questions are, having secured the autonomy and neutrality of Samoa by the only available means, shall we now permit the islands to be appropriated by a European power? Having in an honorable way acquired valuable rights in one of the best harbors in the Pacific, shall we fling them from us? Having deliberately and with full knowledge entered into an international compact which forever made secure to us rights, and the only remaining possible ones, in the centre of a vast commerce, shall we voluntarily release our grasp? Having incurred a large expenditure of money, and devoted years of careful diplomatic action to obtain what we have, shall all the results be passed over for the sole benefit of other nations? Having by practical experience learned the imperfections in present conditions, should we not be short-sighted indeed, if, instead of arranging "ameliorations" of those conditions, we were irretrievably to throw away all the future?

HENRY C. IDE.

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SHALL THE CIVIL SERVICE ORDERS BE AMENDED?

BY GENERAL GREEN B. RAUM.

THE orders of President Cleveland adding more than 44,000 officers and employees of the Executive Departments to the classified service, including many important positions, has challenged widespread comment and opposition, and there is an earnest demand that his orders and rules shall be abrogated or greatly amended.

This subject is now worthy of careful examination.

Civil government under our republican system is a great progressive science; especially is this so in regard to the executive administration. During the past thirty-six years there has been a wonderful growth in the character and volume of business transacted in all the great departments of the executive branch of government. There has also been a steady improvement in the methods of business, in the enforcement of the laws, and in the accountability of public officers charged with the collection and disbursement of public moneys. The improvements in the public service were the result of wholesome laws and efficient administration. The present Civil Service law was approved by President Arthur, January 16, 1883. At that time the Civil Service list was in a highly satisfactory condition.

Capable and efficient officers were at the head of all departments and bureaus.

The clerical force was exceptionally competent and efficient. It had been appointed by selection, after due examination as to fitness, by boards of examiners in each department.

These boards were organized under Section 164 of the U. S. Revised Statutes, which prohibits the appointment of a clerk until he has been examined and found qualified.

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The business of the departments was conducted promptly and in a thorough businesslike manner, and effective supervision was maintained over the related offices throughout the country.

The records of the Treasury Department show that for a number of years prior to January, 1883, the losses of the government by defalcation of its officers amounted virtually to nothing; so that at the time of the passage of the Civil Service law there was nothing in the departments to reform so far as integrity, capacity, and efficiency in the transaction of the public business was concerned.

In fact, the Civil Service reform agitation was not directed to the improvement of the business methods of the departments, nor was the law enacted for any such purpose. It is entirely consistent with truth to say that no abuse in administration has ever been corrected, and no improvement in methods introduced, because of the Civil Service reform agitation or the enactment of the Civil Service law. There has been a healthy public sentiment in favor of wise laws and honest administration, and the executive government has struggled to keep abreast with that sentiment. The Civil Service reform agitation had but one object in view, namely, the elimination of politics as a factor in the appointment of people to office. The present law was passed in response to that agitation; it provides for classifying certain places in the departments at Washington, and in custom-houses and post-offices having fifty or more employees. The law authorizes the President to extend the classification further to other offices of the executive departments and service. The law prohibits the collection of political assessments by one set of government officers for other officers or employees, and prohibits the filing or consideration of recommendations for office of senators or members of Congress, except as to character and residence of the applicant. The law contains no limitation upon the power of removal from office.

Under the law about 15,000 clerks were classified during President Arthur's term. President Cleveland added about 7,000 more during his first term. President Harrison caused the classification of the employees of the free-delivery post-offices, numbering nearly 8,000, and the natural growth of the service brought the number up to about 43,000 clerks at the date of President Cleveland's second inauguration.

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During his last term President Cleveland issued twelve orders increasing the classified service and adopting rules governing the same; he added about 44,000 persons to the classified lists, and issued a rule declaring that no person in the classified service should be removed or changed in grade on account of his political opinions or affiliations, and fixed a penalty of dismissal from the service for a violation of this rule. Mr. Cleveland did not confine his action to the clerical force; his orders bring into the classified service the entire body of the Civil Service in and out of Washington, except a few Presidential appointments, and the fourth-class postmasterships, and in his annual message he advocated placing these offices in the classified service, one of the reasons assigned being "the peace and quiet of neighborhoods." All heads of divisions, chief clerks, appointment clerks, law clerks, and disbursing officers of the departments and bureaus are now in the classified service; the Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, the Chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Medical Referee of the Pension Office, and the Internal Revenue agents are all now in the classified service. It would be fair to suppose that a President who had done so much to add to the number in the classified service would govern his own actions in regard to appointments by the rules of non-partisanship which he prescribed for the government of his successors. But what are the facts? When Mr. Cleveland became President in 1885, after appointing a Democratic cabinet, his administration at once entered upon the work of removing Republicans from office and appointing Democrats in their stead; a complete change was made in the heads of all bureaus and their assistants and deputies, new chief clerks, new appointment clerks, and new heads of divisions were appointed in all the departments and bureaus. Not one Republican was appointed. Every new man was a Democrat; in fact, almost every position above and below the classified service was changed and Democrats put in place. Many young men were appointed messengers, laborers, etc., and assigned to clerical work. Outside of Washington the same rule was observed. All collectors of customs, all collectors of internal revenue, naval officers, appraisers, assistant treasurers, district attorneys, marshals, pension agents, and postmasters, great and small, were changed and Democrats appointed. The

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entire diplomatic and consular service was changed and filled with Democrats. Changes were made in almost all the unclassified offices and employments in the departments and offices, and Democrats appointed.

When Mr. Cleveland became President again in 1893 his policy in regard to the patronage was unchanged, but was carried out with more thoroughness. Outside of the classified service wherever a Republican was found in office he was superseded by a Democrat. The number of Republicans left in office was so small that their retention scarcely made an exception to the rule; their services were required for particular reasons, and they were kept. But in addition to this the classified service was invaded, and large numbers of clerks were removed or reduced in grade for no reason except that they were Republicans, and their places were wanted for political and personal favorites. This was notably the case in the Treasury and Interior Departments. In these departments nearly 3,000 clerks and employees were retired. Of these 1,564 were messengers, watchmen, etc., not in the classified service. They were turned out because they were Republicans, and their places were filled with Democrats. If this great work of turning out Republicans and appointing Democrats had been done upon the alleged ground that the people had, in electing Mr. Cleveland President, decided to change the policy of the government by changing its officers and employees, the reason would be intelligible; but while this work was in progress loud claims were made that the President and his administration were in favor of Civil Service reform, and to verify this claim as soon as these changes were well under way Mr. Cleveland began the work of putting his appointees under the protection of the classified service. This work began May 11, 1894, and continued from month to month until the promulgation of the rules of November 2, 1896. The work of classification was left to the Civil Service Commission, and this was not completed and promulgated until after the inauguration of President McKinley. As a result of these various orders the great body of the official force of the government is now in the classified service, except the fourth-class postmasters and a few Presidential appointments, and the Civil Service Commission, supported by Mr. Cleveland, favors placing these fourth-class postmasterships in the classified service, and they also advocate the repeal of all

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laws fixing the term of four years tenure to certain offices. These measures will, of course, deprive the people of all action in connection with the appointment of the official force of the government.

There was no public demand for these sweeping changes either through the public press or by petition from the people. The party platforms of the great political organizations had not demanded them; and there were no resolutions of either branch of Congress recommending them. It was the act of the President and the Civil Service Commission unsupported by public sentiment; it was strictly a partisan measure, the effect of which Mr. Cleveland no doubt duly considered. He knew that it would prove a great embarrassment to the incoming administration. He believed, no doubt, that if the orders were allowed to stand, there would be serious discontent in the Republican party, and if the orders were revoked, or largely amended, the advocates of Civil Service reform would attack the administration. This action forces on the country the consideration of a number of grave and important questions. It is claimed by Mr. Cleveland and the Civil Service Commission that there will be a marked improvement in the public service.

Let us consider this point.

It has been the experience of every officer whose duty it was to make selections for appointments from the list certified by the Civil Service Commission that the examination papers do not contain the necessary information to enable the nominating and appointing officers to form a just estimate of the character of the candidate, or of his fitness for departmental work. These papers contain no endorsements of well-known persons, certifying to the good character, the judgment, discretion, aptitude, integrity, or fidelity to trust, or any of the qualities, which make a trustworthy and loyal subordinate. Dependence must be placed solely upon the academic examination. No experienced officer would prefer to appoint a man to an important position simply upon the examination papers of the Civil Service Commission. It has therefore become a universal practice in the departments to appoint all persons coming through the Commission to the lowest grades and lowest salaries. It is therefore the fact that men of high standing who are competent to fill the higher positions, recently classified, do not take Civil Service examinations. The conse-

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quence is the appointment of men who are yet to prove their capacity. In fact, the Civil Service Commission advocates this plan of making appointments into the low grades and earnestly opposes the bringing into the public service to fill the higher places recently classified of men of well-known character and capacity.

Men of splendid ability, broad experience, and high character will accept positions as chief clerk, appointment clerk, law clerk, head of division, etc., in the departments, and will be an actual reinforcement to the public service, but they will not pass through the Civil Service machinery to accept small salaries as clerks. It must be borne in mind that the law fixes the responsibility of administration upon the President, the heads of departments, and certain other officers appointed by the President. The business of the government is performed under their supervision and in their name; they are responsible to the country for the success of the administration; their chief clerks, appointment clerks, and heads of divisions receive almost all the business that enters their offices, and take the initiative in disposing of more than nine-tenths of it. The volume of business in the departments is so great that it is impossible for the principal officers to examine all the work; they must depend upon the men who have it in charge; and they should be permitted to exercise the broadest discretion in the selection of persons for these importan positions. They should not be confined in their selections to the employees in the office, but should have the right to select competent men from private life.

The heads of departments should have the right now, as their predecessors from time immemorial have had in the past, to appoint men of their own selection to the important confidential places in their departments. It is a safe rule to allow an officer charged with the performance of important duties to appoint his chief subordinates. From these considerations alone it seems clear that bringing these important positions into the classified service is not an improvement, but will prove a serious detriment to the service, and in this view of the case it is important that the existing Civil Service rules should be reformed.

The Civil Service reform movement had its origin in a distrust of the political integrity of the people and distrust of and contempt for government through party organization. The appointment of competent men to office upon the petition and recom-

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mendation of party friends was denounced as a prostitution of the appointing power. The reform demanded was the adoption of a system of educational tests of fitness to be determined by competitive examinations of self-selected candidates, by a commission appointed for that purpose; the names of those who pass the examination to be placed upon lists and the appointments to be made from names furnished by the commission. The plan included the repeal of all tenure of office acts, and the entire elimination of political influences from appointments to office or removals therefrom. The obvious result intended was to deprive the people of the right of taking any part whatever by petition or recommendation in securing the appointment of any person to office. Popularity with the people, the wishes of the people, were to count for nothing. The object of this reform was to create a privileged office-holding class, removed from the influences of popular sentiment, who were to hold their offices during good behavior.

The designs of the advocates of Civil Service reform have almost been accomplished. Such a system is inconsistent with the genius of our government and must be contrary to public sentiment. This Civil Service system will repress the laudable and honorable ambition of prominent men to serve the government in these appointive offices, and will thus manifestly tend to weaken the hold that our system of popular government has upon the minds of the people.

Citizens have just as much right to aspire through their political organizations to these appointive offices as other citizens have to aspire to the elective offices. And the people have just as much right to express their preference as to who shall be appointed to office, as they have to express their preference at the polls for a candidate who seeks election to office.

When the people elect a man to office they expect him to exercise the power of appointment in favor of men identified with his party. In fact there is an implied obligation that he will do so.

It is only through party organization and party machinery that an elector is able to give expression to his political sentiments. We elect men to make and to enforce laws who agree with us in politics. Agreement in political opinions is the great lodestone that brings men together. It is the fundamental principle of all action in our political life. Therefore, the

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principle influencing the exercise of the power of appointment to office should be in complete harmony with the principle which controls electors at the polls—namely, agreement in political opinions. Any serious encroachment upon this fundamental principle does violence to our representative republican system of government. It is a dangerous innovation, and is calculated to work great harm to our system of government.

Under existing Civil Service rules no officer, however high, is to be trusted to exercise choice, discretion, or judgment in making appointments to office. The President shall not choose the people about him at the Executive Mansion. He must keep those he finds there or select others from names sent him from the Civil Service Commission. Heads of departments must keep the old force around them, or if they make changes they cannot bring in new men of their own choice, however competent. Collectors of customs and internal revenue who receive the hundreds of millions of government cash can have no choice of subordinates to aid them in transacting the immense and responsible business under their charge.

No appointing officer can select persons for particular places and send them before the Commission for examination and appoint them if they stand the educational tests. They are not permitted to examine the lists of eligibles and make selections for appointments. The Commission by an automatic process will select three names from which an appointment shall be made. Such a system is obviously inconsistent with common sense and reason and cannot bear good fruit. The Civil Service law has been in force for more than fourteen years. Have its workings changed public sentiment in regard to electing and appointing people to office? Have electors become non-partisan in casting their ballots? Have party organizations devised a scheme of selecting candidates by machinery without reference to their political opinions or affiliations? Has the press ceased to express a preference for the election and appointment of their party friends to office? Not so, the people, the party organizations, the public press, adhere to the old doctrine that the government can best be administered by their party friends. Every administration, whether Republican or Democratic, in power since the passage of the Civil Service law, has shown by its acts that it preferred its friends in office. Mr. Cleveland with an eight years'

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experience in the White House has never been known to appoint a political opponent to office. These facts are conclusive proof that the people of the United States do not favor the scheme of turning the great body of official positions over to the Civil Service Commission. The people do not want a life tenure to any office; it will be far better to fix a four years' tenure to every position with the right of reappointment. It will better comport with our Republican system of government to make postmasters elective, than to place their appointment under Civil Service rules. Educational tests of fitness by Civil Service examinations should be ancillary to the appointing power, and not displace the right of choice and the exercise of judgment and discretion.

The people of this country stand nearer to the government than ever before. They have an abiding faith in our representative republican system, and it seems improbable that they will so lose interest in public affairs as to acquiesce in the rules and orders which have so extended the power and influence of the Civil Service Commission. Who shall say that the people of this country cannot be trusted with their government? A healthy and progressive public opinion has inaugurated and carried forward all the great reforms of our government in the past, and has placed this nation in the lead, and it is not be believed that the people will submit to encroachments upon their rights and privileges by these unwise and unjust rules of the Civil Service Commission.

GREEN B. RAUM.

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PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

IV.—THE PRAIRIE STATES.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THESE States are twelve in number, but only seven of them had existence in 1850, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and the two Dakotas being of later date. The population is still sparse, hardly thirty-five to the square mile, although it has quintupled since 1850, viz.:

	1850.	1890.	1897, Est.
Ohio	1,980,000	3,672,000	3,890,000
Illinois	851,000	3,826,000	4,250,000
Indiana	988,000	2,192,000	2,290,000
Missouri	682 000	2,679,000	2,970,000
Michigan	398,000	2,094,000	2,390,000
Wisconsin	305,000	1,687,000	1,920,000
Iowa	192,000	1,912,000	2,160.000
Minnesota, etc	6,000	4,300,000	6,450,000
Prairie States	5,402,000	22,362,000	26,320,000

Illinois is now the foremost State of this group, whereas in 1850 its population was less than half that of Ohio. Immigration has played a more important part in these States than in any other portion of the Union, the last census showing that nearly one-fifth of the inhabitants were foreign settlers. The figures for 1850 and 1890 compare as follows :

	1850.	1890.	Increase per cent.
Americans, white	4,654,000	17,871,000	285
Colored population	136,000	431,000	217
Foreigners	612,000	4,060,000	563
Prairie States	5,402,000	22,362,000	314

In the above interval of forty years the rate of increase in the whole Union was 165 per cent. for white Americans, and 105 per cent. for colored people, from which it follows that large numbers of both came into the Prairie States, as the above excessive

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rates of increase show. The population in 1890 was apparently made up thus:

	Born in Prairie States.	Immigrants.	Total.
*Americans, white	12,100,000	5,771,000	17,871,000
Negroes	280,000	151,000	431,000
Foreigners	.....	4,060,000	4,060,000
Total population	12,380,000	9,982,000	22,362,000

It appears that only 55 per cent. of the population is of Prairie birth, the rest being made up of Americans who have "gone West" and of foreign settlers. The growth of urban population in 20 years, from 1870 to 1890, was four times as rapid as rural: the former having risen 210, the latter only 50 per cent., viz.:

	Urban.		Rural.	
	1870.	1890.	1870.	1890.
Illinois	410,000	1,431,000	2,130,000	2,395,000
Ohio	469,000	1,106,000	2,196,000	2,566,000
Missouri	372,000	701,000	1,349,000	1,978,000
Michigan	119,000	501,000	1,065,000	1,593,000
Other States	396,000	1,754,000	4,475.000	8,337,000
Prairie States	1,766,000	5,493,000	11,215,000	16,869,000

Urban and rural stand as one to three, whereas in the Middle States and New England they are as two to two. Foreign settlers are relatively most numerous in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Dakota, where they form one-third of the population, and lowest in Missouri and Indiana, being under 10 per cent. Foremost of European immigrants are the Germans, 40 per cent. of all settlers, the States preferred by them being Illinois, Wisconsin, and Ohio. Scandinavians come next, 18 per cent., and these are chiefly congregated in Minnesota. Irish stand for 11 per cent., and are found mostly in Illinois and Ohio. Canadians have settled largely in Michigan. It is a significant fact that, while the Prairie States have received a great impulse by the immigration of four million persons from Northern Europe, the Latin element is almost unknown, the total of French, Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese being only 60,000.

Agriculture.—Climate, soil, and position mark out the Prairie States as the especial home of agriculture in the New World. They produce more than two-thirds of the grain, and possess

*Including children of foreign parentage.

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nearly half the live-stock of the Union. The census returns of grain crops showed as follows:

	Millions of bushels.				Bushels per inhabitant.
	Wheat.	Maize.	Oats, etc.	Total.	
1850	44	222	46	312	58
1870	195	439	178	812	62
1890	321	1,599	713	2,633	118

While the grain crop multiplied eightfold, there was also a prodigious increase in the production of meat, viz.:

	Beef.	Mutton.	Pork.	Total tons.
1850	215,000	77,000	342,000	634,000
1894	1,092,000	128,000	968,000	2,188,000

Farming has advanced with even greater rapidity than population, the improved area in 1890 exceeding 8 acres per inhabitant, as compared with 5 acres in 1850, viz.:

	Acres improved.		Acres per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
Ohio	9,850,000	18,340,000	5.0	5.0
Illinois	5,040,000	25,670,000	5.9	6.7
Indiana	5,050,000	15,110,000	5.1	6.9
Missouri	2,940,000	19,790,000	4.3	7.4
Michigan	1,930,000	9,870,000	4.9	4.7
Wisconsin	1,050,000	9,790,000	3.4	5.8
Iowa	820,000	25,430,000	4.3	13.3
Kansas, etc	530,000	60,300,000	..	14.0
Prairie States	27,210,000	184,300,000	5.0	8.1

In forty years the improved area under farms showed an advance of 157 million acres, equal to 13,000 acres daily. In other words, the new farms laid down and improved between 1850 and 1890 exceeded the total superficial area of the German Empire, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark collectively. There has been nothing like this in the history of mankind, nor is there any part of the world where farming is on so gigantic a scale, the census of 1890 showing a grain crop equal to three tons per inhabitant, or ten times the European average. It is true that since 1890 the production of grain has declined, the average crop for the years 1893–94–95 being much less; nevertheless the production of food is colossal, compared with Europe, for the Prairie States raise nearly as much grain as France, Germany, and Austria collectively, and almost twice as much meat as either France or Austria. The foremost State in food production is Iowa, with an average of five tons of grain and 500 pounds of meat per inhabitant, her grain crop being larger

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than that of Italy or Spain, although her population is only two million souls. The value of farm products of the Prairie States is approximately as follows:

	Tons.	Million dollars.
Grain	50,000,000	610
Meat	2,190,000	318
Tallow and lard	400,000	36
Dairy products	.....	271
Hay	27,300,000	185
Potatoes	2,710,000	44
Sundries	.....	293
Total	.....	1,757

This gives an average of $9.50 an acre, against $14 in the Middle States. With regard to dairy products, the Prairie States have such a surplus of milch cows (at least two millions more than necessary) that they are able to meet the deficit which exists in the Middle States and New England. Thus, in 1890, they produced more than 50 per cent. of the butter of the Union. The production in these States that year averaged 23 pounds to each inhabitant, while the consumption in the Union at large was only 16 pounds, from which it may be inferred that fully one-fourth of the butter made in the Prairie States is sent to the Eastern States. There is also a great surplus of poultry and eggs, the production of the latter being sufficient to give 208 per inhabitant in 1890, the average consumption in the whole Union being only 157. In the other parts of the Union we have seen a marked tendency since 1850 to make farms smaller, but the reverse has occurred in the Prairie States, the average cultivated or improved area of each farm having risen in the interval from 61 to 96 acres. Moreover, the farmers of the Western States cultivate individually larger areas than those of the Eastern or Southern, as we see by comparing the number of hands engaged in farming with the extent of improved land, thus:

States.	Hands.	Acres.	Acres per hand.
Eastern	1,100,000	46,500,000	42
Southern	3,850,000	103,800,000	27
Western	3,370,000	207,300,000	62
Union	8,320,000	357 600,000	43

These figures eloquently show the superiority of the Western farmer, which is confirmed when we compare the production of grain and meat (average of years 1893–94–95), and the number of agricultural hands, with the figures for the other States and for certain European countries, viz.:

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	Hands employed.	Tons. Grain.	Tons. Meat.	Per hand. Grain bush.	Per hand. Meat, pounds.
Prairie States	3,060,000	49,700,000	2,190,000	650	1,610
Other States	5,260,000	23,300,000	2,760,000	177	1,170
Union	8,320,000	73,000,000	4,950,000	352	1,340
United Kingdom	2,530,000	7,500,000	1,100,000	117	970
France	7.220,000	18,100,000	1,200,000	100	370
Germany	9,350,000	17,100,000	1,520,000	72	360

One hand in the Prairie States raises as much food as five can do in the most advanced countries of Europe, and this is evidently due in great measure to the use of improved agricultural machinery, for it is a strange fact that the reaping-hook is still seen in some parts of England, France, and Germany. Nor is this the only advantage possessed by the Western farmer, for land can be purchased much more cheaply than in the Eastern States, and at less than one-third of prices in Europe. And here it may be interesting to compare the average value per acre in various parts of the Union according to census returns in 1850, 1880 and 1890, viz.:

	Dollars per acre. 1850.	1880.	1890.
Prairie States	28	37	38
Middle States	45	65	63
Southern States	20	21	23
New England	34	44	46

Such has been the industry of the Western farmers that their wealth increased ninefold in 40 years, the value of farms in the 12 Prairie States in 1890 being equal to the agricultural wealth of the Austrian Empire. We find that during the said 40 years the average number of persons engaged in farming, according to census reports, was 1,930,000, the increase in farming wealth having been 7,596 millions of dollars, or 190 millions per annum; that is to say, each farming hand increased the public wealth by 99 dollars a year. If we compare the value of farms in 1850 and 1890 we find as follows:

	Millions dollars. 1850.	1890.	Annual increase.	Mean No. of hands.	Dollars yearly per hand.
Illinois	127	1,478	34	343,000	99
Ohio	416	1,196	20	368,000	54
Iowa	22	1,101	27	167,000	159
Indiana	165	869	17	249,000	68
Missouri	87	787	17	242,000	70
Michigan	63	648	15	194,000	77
Other States	35	2,432	60	367,000	164
Prairie States.	915	8,511	190	1,930,000	99

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In the economic history of the United States there is perhaps no lesson more striking or instructive than the one contained in the above table. Less than half a century has sufficed for a comparatively small number of farmers to convert the Western prairies into one of the most productive regions of the globe, and to create and build up as flourishing a community as can be found to-day in either of the hemispheres. How different the condition of these prairie farmers from that of the same class in Europe is seen when we compare the amount of wealth with the number of agricultural hands.*

	Hands.	Million dollars.	Dollars per hand.
Prairie States	3,060,000	8,511	2,780
France	7,220,000	14,845	2,050
Germany	9,350,000	12,042	1,290
Austria	12,940,000	8,630	664

Three Prairie farmers possess as much wealth as 4 French, 6 German, or 13 Austrian farmers, while their taxes are much lighter, and they are free from military service.

Forestry.—These States are not heavily timbered, their forest area being under 90 million acres, or one-fifth of the wooded area of the Union. The cutting is, meantime, excessive, the census of 1890 showing that the Prairie States yield 51 per cent. of the sawn timber produced in the United States. In 1894 the estimate was 42 million tons of lumber and 140 million tons of firewood, fencing, etc., of a total value of 330 million dollars, equal to $3.60 per forest acre, whereas the average product of the wooded area of the Union was only $2.20. If we exclude the Prairie States, the average for the rest of American forests is only $1.80 per acre, and hence the cutting in these States appears to be double what it ought to be. Congress ought to take timely measures to prevent some of the Western States from being denuded of timber. At present the Prairie States have only 3½ acres of timber per inhabitant, while the average in the rest of the Union is 8 acres.

Manufactures.—The rapid growth of population has caused a shifting of equilibrium in the occupations of the people. Thus, in 1850, the Prairie States had only 1 factory operative to 7 farming hands, whereas, in 1890, the figures stood relatively as 5 to

* For amount of agricultural capital in European countries, see *Industries and Wealth of Nations* (Longmans, London, 1896).

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11. The census returns of manufactures in 1850 and 1890 showed thus:

	No. of Operatives.	Million dollars. Wages.	Million dollars. Product.	Per operative, dollars. Wages.	Per operative, dollars. Product.
1850	111,000	30	147	270	1,324
1890	1,407,000	672	3,161	478	2,247

The average product per operative rose 70, wages 77 per cent., showing the advantage on the workman's side. The production of hardware is not quite sufficient for requirements, that of textiles so small that they are obtained almost wholly from New England. Food and lumber constitute the principal manufactures, some of these States carrying on the largest meat-packing business in the world, the returns for 1890 showing as follows:

	Million dollars. Flour.	Meat.	Lumber.	Sundries.	Total.	Dollars per inhabitant
Illinois	38	213	26	632	909	238
Ohio	40	17	28	557	642	175
Michigan	23	...	94	161	278	132
Minnesota	60	3	30	99	192	148
Other States	130	76	124	810	1,140	99
Prairie States	*291*	*309*	*302*	*2,259*	*3,161*	*141*

These States stand for 60 per cent. of the flour, 55 per cent. of the meat business, and 50 per cent. of the lumber, produced in the Union, according to the last census.

Mining.—In 1890 the Prairie States produced 34 million tons of coal, chiefly from Illinois and Ohio, and 8 million tons of iron ore, mostly from Michigan, besides 150,000 ounces of gold and 100,000 of silver from Dakota. The total mining output was valued at 183 million dollars, or one-third of that of the Union.

Railways.—In 1895 these States possessed 94,300 miles of railway, which represented an outlay of 4,340 millions, or $45,000 per mile, being one-fourth less than the average cost of American lines. The length of the Prairie railways exceeds the aggregate of lines in France, Germany, Russia, and Austria. Each inhabitant of the Prairie States has seven yards of railway, against one yard in France or Germany, and two-thirds of a yard for Europe in general.

Banking.—Discounts in 1895 amounted to 840 million dollars, or $33 per inhabitant, against $77 per head in the Middle States, which seems to show that banking is not fully developed, perhaps because the population is scattered. Illinois and Ohio are ahead of the other States, discounts in them being respectively $52 and

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$46 per inhabitant. Savings banks are not much in use, the total deposits of the 12 States being only 101 million dollars, or $4 per inhabitant, against $151 per head in New England.

Wealth.—The components of wealth in 1890 were as follows:

	Million dollars.					Dollars per inhabitant.
	Farms.	Houses.	Railways.	Sundries.	Total.	
Ohio	1,196	1,480	424	852	3,952	1,077
Illinois	1,478	2,031	522	1,036	5,067	1,325
Missouri	787	813	323	475	2,398	895
Indiana	869	533	310	383	2,095	957
Iowa	1,101	404	443	339	2,287	1,197
Michigan	648	593	375	479	2,095	1,000
Wisconsin	561	621	294	357	1,833	1,084
Minnesota	415	694	282	301	1,692	1,302
Kansas	707	380	462	250	1,799	1,263
Nebraska	512	306	272	186	1,276	1,204
Dakota	237	200	230	95	762	1,494
Total	8,511	8,055	3,937	4,753	25,256	1,130

The creation of wealth in these States has been exceedingly rapid, the accumulation per inhabitant being 2½ times as much as in Great Britain. If we take the interval from 1860 to 1890, we find that the mean population of these States was 15,400,000, that of the United Kingdom 33,400,000, and the statement of wealth was as follows:

	Million dollars.			Dollars yearly per inhabitant.
	1860.	1890.	Increase yearly.	
Prairie States	3,966	25,256	709	45
United Kingdom	34,590	53,090	617	19

In these States wealth has multiplied sixfold in 30 years, whereas in the United Kingdom it only doubles in 50 years. It may here be observed that the lowest average of wealth per head is in Missouri, which is, moreover, the only State having a large colored population; the ratio of the latter is 6 per cent. in Missouri, and only 2 per cent. in the Prairie States generally.

Mortgages are relatively less than in the Eastern States, amounting to one-seventh of the value of real estate; farms are more heavily mortgaged than house property, viz.:

	Million dollars.		Ratio per cent.
	Value.	Mortgages.	
Farms	7,070	1,197	17
Houses	8,055	881	11
Total	15,125	2,078	14

The only State heavily mortgaged is Kansas, where the ratio is 26 per cent. of the value of real estate; the lightest is Ohio, only

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10 per cent. The rate of interest ranges from 6½ in Ohio and Illinois to 9½ per cent. in Dakota. The sum paid yearly for interest on mortgage in the 12 States is equal to $7 per inhabitant, against $6 for the whole Union.

Property covered by insurance amounts to 2,145 million dollars, or only $96 to each inhabitant, the average for the Union being $300. Wisconsin shows the highest insurance ratio among these States, namely, $200 per head.

Finances.—The sum of local and State taxation in 1890 was 182 million dollars, or $8 per inhabitant, of which one-third was for maintenance of public schools, the rate over the whole Union in 1890 being $9.10 per inhabitant.

Education.—The ratio of instruction for the whole population is higher than in any other part of the Union, viz.:

	Per cent. Illiterate.		
	Americans.	Foreigners.	Total population.
Prairie States	3 4	10.6	5.7
Middle States	2.8	14.5	7.0
New England	1.7	18.1	6.3

The foreign settlers in the Prairie States are of a superior class to those in the Eastern, the former being mostly farmers from Northern Europe, while the bulk of the latter consists of factory hands and unskilled laborers. The educational statistics in 1890 were as follows :

	Population over 10 years.	Illiterates.	Per cent.
Americans, white	12,652,000	436,000	3.4
Foreigners	3,909,000	414,000	10.6
Negroes	349,000	114,000	32.8
Total	16,910,000	964,000	5.7

The schools of these States are not only efficient, but also conducted with economy, each scholar costing only $11 yearly, against $15 in the Middle States and $17 in New England.

Compared with the Union at large, the Prairie States stand for 36 per cent. of population, 47 per cent. of agriculture, 34 per cent. of manufactures, 31 per cent. of mining, and 39 per cent. of wealth; so that they may be said to constitute all round 35 per cent. of the Great Republic. In many respects they surpass in importance five or six European empires and kingdoms rolled into one; and yet men still living can remember when their population did not exceed that of the island of Sardinia.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

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THE PROGRESS OF BRITISH WARSHIPS' DESIGN.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, R. N.

THE advice to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest is not commonly tendered to those authorities who have ultimately to determine the type of the warships. And yet I am not clear that it is bad advice even to them. What they have to buy is naval force, and what they have to sell is the result of force should war send them to market. All the adverse criticisms that can possibly be offered on the type, armament, speed, and endurance of any warship only result in asserting that more force for sale could be bought with the money. No doubt the fact is little present to the minds of such hostile critics as are in the habit of straining at naval gnats and swallowing naval camels; but if it were present in a greater degree the criticisms pronounced would generally be sounder. But as we stand, in the middle of all the controversies as to whether the ships are too large or too small, whether the battleships and cruisers are properly proportioned in number, whether there is a sufficiency of end-on fire, or whether any ship is fast enough, it requires a distinct intellectual effort to realize that we are discussing economy measured in money.

The British purse is so long, and when our people are hot on any subject so easy to get at, that we are sometimes disinclined to look at alternative articles in the buying market. The sweep of invention in the matter of warship design is then in a measure turned in on itself, and can only modify the models it finds already adopted

The alternative thesis in design is a necessity in the question of cost. If so many ships of such a design represent so much force and cost so much money, will so many other ships of such

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another design represent the same force for less money? That is the real question always before the naval architect, but it is much less pressing on him in times of naval boom than when the Chancellor of the Exchequer keeps his pockets buttoned. In times of boom the cry is for a full supply of existing designs; it is when the cold fit is on that alternatives receive attention.

But alternatives are constantly offered to the naval architect which do not admit of choice. There are inventions to improve the power of the gun, and the armor for resisting its projectiles; increases in the range, accuracy, and charge of the torpedo, and means for reducing the waste in burning the pound of coal so as to get more propulsive power out of it. To be improvements these inventions must yield an increase in result without a proportionate increase in the weight, or perhaps the space, that they claim in any design. Once this is proved by experiment the designer has no choice; he must adopt the new inventions or be left behind in the race.

The alternatives only offer a choice when it is considered how the economies offered by invention shall be applied. Shall all design remain as it is, and shall we increase the gun-power, armor resistance, torpedo power, speed, and coal endurance in the proportions allowed by invention? Or shall gun-power be varied, increasing numbers and decreasing individual power? Or will it be desirable to reconsider the gun's position in ships as a tactical question? Or shall the gun remain in power and place as it was, in order to add to some other element? Shall armor cover greater areas of side with the old resistance? Or shall the old areas and resistance be maintained in order to put the weight saved into speed, or coal endurance, or gun-power? Shall coal endurance yield to speed, or speed to coal endurance? Or shall both remain so that armor resistance and gun-power may be increased? This great list of alternatives comes before the naval architect as soon as it is decided to adopt any of the improvements described, and the real interest in the problem is the economy of the choice.

But the designer's difficulty lies in the fact that, as far as the adoption of any such improvement goes, he can fully verify his position by experiment in peace time; while until the experiment of war overtakes him he can seldom verify the wisdom of his alternative choices. But it is even worse than that, for he

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must build and equip by the light of an opinion which is continually changing, which will lead him on in certain directions, and then turn around on him and denounce him. It must be so in the absence of war experiment, but even this will not act with much suddenness.

All warships' design rests on some tactical ideas which are now more or less incompletely thought out, and there is continual action and reaction going on between the tactical idea as creating the concrete design and the concrete design as modifying the tactical idea. This interaction may go on till the experiment of war settles it, perhaps in a way that shows the whole thing to have been a fallacy.

It is scarcely a paradox to say that the French Admiral Bouet-Willaumez, writing in 1855, influenced the defeat of the Chinese in 1894, tactical idea acting on design, and design forcing the hand of tactics. The simple story is on this wise. Bouet-Willaumez, in 1855, conceived that steam had broken with the old line of battle—a fighting formation in Indian file; and he declared that the line abreast—ships ranged beside one another like a line of soldiers—was the true fighting formation for steam fleets. In the old line of battle, the side of the ship was presented to the enemy, and warships prepared to fight in it were denuded of guns at bow and stern so that the whole strength of their fire was delivered at right angles to the line of keel. If steam fleets were henceforth to fight in line abreast, it followed that they might be denuded of fire at right angles to the line of keel, or at least weakened in that direction, provided their greatest strength was given to fire in the line of keel. Bouet-Willaumez reaffirmed his opinion in 1865, and the idea coinciding with that of fighting with the ram rather than with the gun, was much followed up in England. It soon began to affect design, so that a sort of craving for heavy bow fire grew up and increased the more it was yielded to. At length came the "Inflexible," where the power of broadside fire was distinctly sacrificed in order to fully develop fire in the line of keel. Other ships of the same type followed, and any Admiral commanding a group of them must have recognized that their force would be best employed in the line abreast.

The most powerful of the Chinese ships, the "Ting-Yuen" and the "Chen-Yuen," followed in an even more pronounced

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manner the tactical idea embodied in the "Inflexible." They could only bring out their full force when fought beside each other in the line abreast. The officer in command of the Chinese fleet was thus forced, as it were, by the designs put into his hands, to make Bouet-Willaumez's tactical idea his own. Every one heartily condemns the Chinese tactics, but few understand how they were forced on Admiral Ting by the designs under his command. Still fewer understand that the plan of the battle and the losing side in it were determined in 1855.

Even more than this may be said. The conclusiveness of the Yalu experiment in condemning Bouet-Willaumez's tactical idea and all that it led to is like to be lost. I have seen but one published diagram of the battle of the Yalu which shows its tactical significance. That one comes direct from Japan. The English diagrams that I have seen condemn Admiral Ito as a tactician, and exhibit his fleet as offering the highest advantages to the Chinese. The draughtsmen have not understood that the battle of Yalu was the first experiment testing the "Inflexible" design; that it was the first trial of the great action of line-ahead against line-abreast; the first practical condemnation of the idea that broadside fire could be economically sacrificed to right-ahead fire.

Hence, the point of interest so far is to note how in new designs the improvement in guns is being used—whether in strengthening fire in the line of keel, or at right angles to it—whether it tends to make our admirals prepare to fight their fleets as we always used to fight them, in the line ahead, or in the manner first proposed by Admiral Bouet-Willaumez.

There is no doubt it is tending, though perhaps slowly, in the direction opposed to Bouet-Willaumez's tactical idea. The highest form of compromise was reached in the "Devastation," when she was provided with an armament of four heavy guns, two to fire ahead, and two to fire astern, while all four ranged over a considerable arc on the broadside. That compromise now remains in all our battleships, but gradually the really broadside fire of lighter guns has been added. The repelling of torpedo-boat attack has counselled a numerous very light armament, which, because of its number, must be chiefly disposed on the broadside. For some time past, then, design has embodied these things, and for the present it rests with a heavy, a me-

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dium, and a light armament; where broadside force, almost from the nature of the case, advances, the treble armament ignores the views of our ancestors, who may be said to have generally avoided variation in calibre except when they could not help it. There is a further question, therefore, as to whether any tendency to reduction in the variation of calibre is on foot.

Take a late battleship like the "Majestic," and we at once find that the improvement in the gun tends, however indefinitely, toward the older tactical idea. The "Royal Sovereign," her immediate predecessor, provides a heavy bow and stern fire of four 67-ton guns, which exhaust the fifty-second part of her weight. The "Majestic" keeps to the compromise on the four heavy bow and stern guns, but they are only forty-six tons each, and only exhaust the eighty-first part of her weight, yet the improvement in the later gun is such that its fire is by no means weakened in proportion to its weight.

The fire in the line of keel of the "Royal Sovereign" is supplemented by four 6-inch guns of seven tons each, which can also be used as broadside guns; this plan remains in the "Majestic." But as the "Majestic" displaces 14,900 tons to the "Royal Sovereign's" 14,150 tons, and as there is the saving of weight on the heavy end-on fire, the "Majestic" shows a broadside fire of six 6-inch guns on each side, against five on each side carried by the "Royal Sovereign." Coming to the light armament, we find that is the same in number in both ships, twenty-eight. Each carries twelve 3-pounders, but the "Majestic" carries sixteen 12-pounders, against the "Royal Sovereign's" 6-pounders. We see, therefore, that, though the influence of Bouet-Willaumez's tactical idea is not lost in the "Majestic," it is weakened; and also that the calibres of the guns mounted are nearer to the mean in the later ship. The designer has used invention to approach, though not by any vigorous steps, the tactical ideas which rested on the experiments of war.

A leading feature in the "Majestic's" design is to carry the guns higher out of the water than usual, and I suppose we must say that it is Harvey armor which has allowed it. The choice of the designer has been to spread over the side of his ships a mean thickness of armor of the old resisting capacity. Belt armor of 18 inches in the "Royal Sovereign" falls to 9 inches

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in the "Majestic." The above-water belting of 5 inches in the "Royal Sovereign" remains 5 inches in the "Majestic," with, of course, increased resisting power. While the heavy guns were protected by 17 inches of armor in the "Royal Sovereign," they take only 14 inches in the "Majestic." In the latter ship the 6-inch broadside guns are not only enclosed in lightly armored citadels like the "Royal Sovereign," but they fight behind heavy broadside plating. The smaller and later ship, the "Renown," discloses the same characteristic changes in guns and armor that are shown in the "Majestic," and any one comparing the drawings in *Brassey's Annual* with an intelligent comprehension of the interactions of tactical ideas and concrete designs may trace the tendency to return to the pattern of the "Achilles," a ship designed before the tactical views of Bouet-Willaumez, combining with the notion of a ram battle, had raised to its full height the demand for the line abreast as the fighting formation, with a powerful bow fire to suit it.

Coming to cruisers, it is useful to compare two of the same displacement, such as the "Australia" of 1885 and the "Eclipse" of 1893, in regard to guns and armor. The tactical idea of an end-on battle—modified very likely by supposing a cruiser to be perpetually in chase or chased—impressed the design of the "Australia" so as to furnish her with bow and stern guns of twenty-two tons, capable, in the terms of the compromise, of being also used on the broadside. Then, out of a total of ten slow-firing six-inch guns, two were arranged to fire right ahead and two right astern, as well as on the broadside. The light armament consisted of six 6-pounders and ten 3-pounders, mostly of necessity disposed upon the broadside.

In the "Eclipse," in part, no doubt, because of the increased power given to the 6-inch gun, and in part, I believe, because of the change in tactical idea, the two 22-ton 9.2-inch guns have disappeared altogether. The right-ahead fire is represented in the newer ship by three 6-inch guns instead of by one 9.2-inch, and two 6-inch guns as in the older ship. The right astern fire in the "Eclipse" is represented by two 6-inch guns only. Although something must be said for the increased power which is got out of the lighter guns, the change must be regarded as a weakening of the former tactical ideal. Further advantage is taken of increased power in the individual gun to substitute in the "Eclipse"

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six 4.7-inch guns for the six purely broadside 6-inch guns which were found in the "Australia." Again, the light armament is reduced in number as compared with the "Australia," but it is increased in calibre. The "Eclipse" carries eight 12-pounders and only one 3-pounder; at least six of the 12-pounders being purely broadside guns.

It would seem that in the later ship the whole of the increased power of the gun has not been retained, unless, indeed, it might be found in dependence on increased speed of fire, and ammunition in correspondence therewith. But otherwise the general tendency is what we have seen in the "Majestic." The extremes of calibre are cut off, and a mean uniform calibre is more nearly approached. The preparation for an end-on action in line abreast is probably diminished, and that for a broadside action in line ahead is probably increased.

Passing to the armor, I am surprised to note how strongly we hold to the protective armored deck alone, most of it below water, as in the "Eclipse," in place of the combination of armored side with protective deck, all of it above water, as in the "Australia." Full materials for judging rarely travel outside designer's offices, but I have never considered that the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems have been completely threshed out. I anticipated that Harvey's invention would set the controversy in motion again, but it shows no sign of doing so. I have never been able to see that a ship with only a protective deck is safe from being sunk by the lighter guns without penetration of her armor, whereas a ship with belt armor rising a foot or two above water and closed at top by an armored deck is safe unless the armor is pierced. I know it is held that light guns which do not penetrate the "Australia's" armor might destroy her stability by admitting water in a seaway above the armored deck. This is true enough if means are not provided to allow the water to flow out as fast as it comes in. Such means are patent to the experience of any one who has served in the small sailing ships of the past. At any rate we find the "Australia" with a 10-inch belt, capped by a 2-inch protective deck, and the "Eclipse" with only a protective deck of 1½ to 3 inches. It is possible that Harvey's invention may have saved weight which has gone elsewhere.

One of the novelties in armoring which makes considerable

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progress is the isolation of single guns in small armored citadels. The idea is, of course, to minimize the effects of shell bursting in the ship, but as there is no rose without a thorn, I doubt about the moral effect of such isolation unless the number of officers is very much increased. But at least one fallacy seems to be disappearing. It used to be held that it would be better to have no armor at all than armor which was penetrable. The "Inflexible" again was the embodiment of the proposition, showing an immense side with only a small patch of very thick armor in the middle of it. The truth, of course, is that it is no use firing 12-pounders at a ship clothed with four inches of wrought iron, whereas if there were no armor every 12-pound shell would be effective. The armor limits the effective fire, and that is its sole function.

In propulsion, the great change that is coming is the water-tube boiler, which is but the child of true necessity for using steam at very high pressures. Controversy rages over placing it in two of the largest cruisers. The Admiralty moves so cautiously in the general adoption of improvements that it will be somewhat strange if here they should be in error.

But I am not at all sure of our ground in the elements of propulsion. It is very difficult—more difficult than it used to be—to speak with exactness of speed and coal endurance. Forced draught and induced draught each give an elasticity to horse-power too tempting to the designer. Speed for a time can be reached which would be destructive to the boilers if continued. Every sort of care is taken to keep within the margin, but it is a pity that there should be a margin. It is the same with coal supply and endurance. The steaming powers of the ships are now calculated for a quantity of coal which does not represent any uniformly proportionate part of the total coal capacity, and the data are apt to become a question of account. The "Royal Sovereign's" elements are calculated on a 14,150 tons displacement, with 900 tons of coal on board. So are those of the "Majestic" on a displacement of 14,900 tons. But it is represented that the coal capacity of the "Royal Sovereign" is 1,400 tons and of the "Majestic" 1,800 tons, and thus any real comparison between the ships in these respects fails. In the same way the horse-power of the "Royal Sovereign" is put at 9,000, which increased draught may develop to 11,000.

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The "Majestic" has nominally 10,000 horse-power, to develop under forced draught to 12,000. In ordinary speed the "Royal Sovereign" stands for 16 knots, developing under pressure to 17½. The "Majestic" shows 16½ knots for her ordinary speed, but does not exceed under pressure that of the "Royal Sovereign."

In the "Australia" and "Eclipse" we have the same features, the "Eclipse" showing 550 tons to the "Australia's" 750 as normal supply, with an indeterminate capacity to the "Australia's" 900 tons. It is in the one element of speed that the newer design distinctly surpasses the old one, the speeds of the "Eclipse" being 18½ to 19½ knots, while those of the "Australia" are from 17 to 18½ knots.

There are general principles on which an opinion may be pronounced. I cannot but think that the building of unarmored cruisers of displacements approaching even those of battleships is buying in the cheapest market. No nation but Great Britain could afford to throw her money about as she has done on the "Blake" and the "Blenheim," the "Powerful" and the "Terrible." They are simply efforts to "go one better" than certain foreign ships, and it is almost impossible to find a place for them in the economy of war that would not be as well filled by smaller and cheaper ships.

But since I wrote on the future of the torpedo in a former number of this REVIEW, I only become more and more convinced that it is there that we should centre our regards. I cannot look on the "Majestic" as a permanent type when purely torpedo vessels, such as the torpedo-boat destroyers, are growing up beside her. There is a much wider margin of possible improvement before the torpedo vessel than there is before the battleship of present type. Even now an armored torpedo vessel is afloat, and speed here tends to increase, while in the battleship it seems to be stationary. No doubt feeling runs just now against the above-water torpedo, and the torpedo vessel only fires them as yet in that way. But it seems to me that presently the naval mind will spring to the conception that buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest demands the development of the torpedo vessel pure and simple as against the battleship.

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QUARANTINE METHODS.

BY DR. ALVAH H. DOTY, HEALTH OFFICER OF THE PORT OF NEW YORK.

No subject of importance is perhaps less understood than that of quarantine. Therefore, the general public is not familiar with the changes which have taken place in maritime sanitation during the past few years. Travellers who come within its jurisdiction are restless until released and are often too ready to condemn a service which occasionally is the cause of a disagreeable detention. To the residents of inland towns, quarantine methods are practically unknown; and only a transient interest is taken in the subject in seaports, where the quarantine restrictions imposed are apt to be looked upon solely as an obstruction to commerce. That unscientific and unpractical work has at times brought quarantine into deserved ridicule is only too true; fortunately, however, a new era in this work has been established and the treatment of infected ships (which in the past has been largely guided by theory) will hereafter, at a properly equipped quarantine station, be directed in a manner consistent with the positive knowledge of established facts which we now possess as the result of scientific research.

In order to appreciate fully the changes which have taken place, it is necessary to compare the methods of earlier times with those which are now employed. To a modern sanitarian, a review of quarantine from the fourteenth to the beginning of the present century is anything but satisfactory. The impotent and empirical methods then employed were almost on a plane with the incantations of the Indian medicine man. After 1800, Jenner's discovery of the protective power of vaccination caused considerable improvement in quarantine methods. From that time on more or less advancement was made, and the subject gradually

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attracted the earnest attention of the scientific men of the world. Progress in this direction has been necessarily slow, as the work has been based largely on theory. Within the past ten or fifteen years, however, bacteriological investigations have given us indisputable evidence regarding the life and character of the germs which produce the infectious diseases (pathogenic organisms). The knowledge thus acquired has made it possible to study the action upon these micro-organisms of agents known as disinfectants and to ascertain the germicidal power of the latter. Positive knowledge as to the value of a disinfectant enables us to follow a course determined by facts and not by theories. Although the investigations in this direction are not complete, they have progressed sufficiently far to insure the most promising results.

"Quarantine," which from its derivation means a detention of 40 days, was originally instituted as a means of protection agains the Bubonic Plague, an outbreak of which during the past year has so seriously affected Bombay. It is probable that the first attempt to establish a quarantine station was made in Venice, in 1348. It was at that period that the Plague, under the name of the "Black death," prevailed in Europe. The devastation which ensued seems almost incredible. Hecker estimates that 25,000,000, or one-quarter of the population of Europe, succumbed to this disease; 50,000 died in Paris, and out of a population of 2,000,000 in Norway, only 300,000 survived. It is not to be wondered at that the most drastic measures were taken to shorten this reign of terror. There is very little to show, however, that the means employed were effective, either at the seacoast or in the interior. Still, occasionally, we find evidence of good work; for example, during the outbreak of the Plague, which occurred in Italy in 1656, there were 300,000 deaths from this disease in Naples, and only 1,400 in Rome. This was attributed, and probably justly so, to the strict sanitary precautions enforced by Cardinal Gastaldi in the latter city.

The quarantine regulations first begun in Venice were subsequently put in operation along the Mediterranean coast, and in 1710 and 1721, by acts of Parliament, a rigorous quarantine was established in England against the introduction of the Plague. This was afterwards made operative against other "highly infectious disorders." That no well-defined idea of the methods necessary to insure protection against infectious disease existed at

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this period is shown by unwarranted measures enforced in the treatment of presumably infected ships. For instance, in 1721, two vessels arriving in England laden with cotton from Cyprus, then affected with the Plague, were burned with their cargoes, the owner receiving an indemnity of $116,324; and as late as 1800 two vessels bringing hides from Morocco were ordered sunk by the British authorities, for which the government paid $72,000. The quarantine fees exacted from ship owners frequently amounted to from five to twenty per cent. of the value of the cargo. These charges were frequently imposed on ships carrying clean bills of health. The treatment of the cargo usually consisted of exposing the goods on the deck of the vessel from ten to twenty days; at the expiration of that time they were removed to a lazaret for an additional period of forty days. Vessels were, therefore, frequently detained in quarantine for two months or more. The quarantine service of this date was not improperly called a "commerce destroyer." Lazarets for the reception of persons and goods were constructed at great expense to the state, and were frequently managed in a lavish and ineffective manner.

It does not require a very careful study of the epidemics which in the past so seriously affected Europe to appreciate that the long and unnecessary quarantines imposed did not have the desired effect, and frequently after the liberation from quarantine of a ship's passengers, crew, and cargo, secondary cases occurred on land, which were traced to infection carried from the ship. With this loss of faith in prolonged detention in quarantine came a determined effort on the part of the public, or at least the commercial element of it, to secure a relief from the onerous restrictions imposed upon commerce. As a result, in England particularly, the period of quarantine was gradually reduced, until at the present time there is practically no detention imposed in that country. In the Eastern countries, for instance in Greece and Turkey, we still find restrictions which are as unnecessary and inconsistent as those which existed 200 years ago. The absurdity of this is still more evident when we appreciate the utter disregard the people of the East have for sanitary regulations. As a result these peoples are always in a condition to favor the propagation of infectious diseases and they constitute thereby a menace to the world. The danger from these visitations depends largely upon the sanitary condition of the community where the outbreak

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occurs; no fact is better known or appreciated by those having in charge the public health. Filth, squalor, and famine extend a very cordial reception to the germs of the infectious diseases; while cleanliness and good sanitary regulations act as serious, and almost insurmountable, barriers to their entrance and propagation. At Eastern seaports, however, where Europeans constitute a large portion of the population and have more or less official influence, the quarantine service is relatively better. I was very much impressed with this during a recent inspection of the sanitary system of Egypt, which is practically in charge of Englishmen. The modern methods here employed and the great improvements which have recently been made in the disinfecting apparatus, and in the construction of laboratories, all show that even in this remote place it is appreciated that a new era in quarantine methods is at hand.

The constant tide of immigration to this country, bringing as it does an extremely undesirable class, has made it necessary to prepare for the reception of these persons in such a manner that they cannot act as a menace to the public health. That this is a very difficult task is evident to any one who will carefully investigate the details of the work. As a natural sequence of the stimulus thus afforded, the different quarantine stations in the United States are better equipped than in any other part of the world. It is here, also, that the needs of the service are better appreciated and the obstruction to commerce less; and although there is some want of harmony in the details of the work, it is rapidly becoming uniform under the influence of the accumulating facts resulting from scientific research.

It may very properly be asked in what essential points will the quarantine methods of the future differ from those of the past, and the answer is in the substitution of thorough and scientific disinfection in place of long and unnecessary detention in quarantine, particularly as it relates to the ship itself. I will explain this as follows: A vessel may arrive at a port with a case of infectious disease on board; it is frequently the case that the ship, crew, and passengers are detained for a period representing the incubation of the disease in question. Let us for a moment analyze this action. If the ship is thoroughly disinfected, how can it be a menace to the public health and why should it not be released immediately upon the comple-

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tion of the disinfection? On the other hand, it is manifestly improper that it should be detained merely to hold the crew and passengers under observation. *First.* Because it violates one of the cardinal principles of marine sanitation, inasmuch as it practically brings together in one body persons who at any moment may develop an infectious disease, whereas persons under observation should be as far as possible divided into small groups. *Second.* Because the outbreak of secondary cases among the passengers or crew held for observation on board would frequently involve the necessity of again disinfecting the ship. It will be easily understood that this may continue indefinitely until the ship is practically a pest-house. This unnecessarily subjects the ship-owner to a loss of his cargo, if it is perishable, and also the loss of the ship's service. A detention of a vessel for this purpose can hardly be justified on the grounds that a quarantine has no accommodation for the care of persons under observation. Fortunately it is exceedingly rare that the vessel's cargo acts as a medium of contagion; cases of infectious disease develop after the vessel has put to sea and there is no communication between the patient and cargo, the latter being covered with sealed hatches. It has also been proven that the ordinary cargo does not offer favorable conditions for the propagation of pathogenic organisms; this is particularly so with sugar. It is fortunate that this is the case, as the proper disinfection of a ship's cargo and hold is almost an interminable task. It is, therefore, evident that the first action taken upon arrival of a ship carrying infectious disease is the removal of the sick to the hospital; and, if necessary, of both the passengers and crew to a place where they can be held for disinfection and observation. The ship should then be thoroughly disinfected and allowed to proceed, as further detention can add nothing to the protection already assured. In this manner we have properly fulfilled our obligations to commerce and the public.

It is generally accepted, I believe, by those who are competent to decide this matter, that steam is the most important disinfectant which we possess, its chief value being due to the uniformity and rapidity of its action and its great power of penetration. At present its application is confined principally to the disinfection of clothing, bedding, and similar textile materials.

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For years the value of steam has been appreciated, but further observations were needed to show the degree of temperature and exposure necessary to destroy the organisms of different infectious diseases under given conditions. During the past ten years, valuable information in this direction has been secured as the result of bacteriological investigations. The experiments, however, have mainly shown the effect of steam on the exposed bacilli in the laboratory. Although these experiments are absolutely necessary in forming a standard upon which to work, they do not indicate the degree of temperature needed in treating the materials which are presented at quarantine and other public stations for disinfection. Here it is presumed that the germs are hidden in bundles of clothing, bedding, and packages of different material. Moist heat at a temperature of 150°, Fahr., which experiments have shown will kill the germs of many infectious diseases directly exposed to it, cannot be depended upon to destroy micro-organisms confined in bundles, etc. It is therefore essential that we should know the penetrating power of steam or moist heat. Comparatively low moist temperatures have very little penetrating power. This is shown by placing a self-registering thermometer inside a package which is subjected to a temperature of 150 degrees, Fahr. The thermometer will probably register about 100 degrees, Fahr.—a temperature which is not only not germicidal, but is most favorable to the multiplication of micro-organisms, whereas a moist temperature of but 130 degrees or 135 degrees is often destructive to germ life. It is also essential that we should know the resistance to penetration shown by the different articles submitted to treatment. In order to obtain this information a series of experiments have been made during the past year at the New York quarantine station, the results of which have been very satisfactory. The tests have conclusively shown the degree of temperature and exposure necessary under definite conditions to insure thorough disinfection. These results also aid in removing the uncertainty with which steam disinfection has often been applied, both as to the degree of heat required and the length of exposure necessary. As the result of the experiments above referred to, a number of important modifications of the steam apparatus employed have been made. It is now possible to practically dry the clothing, etc., before removal from the steam chamber, so that

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it can be worn immediately upon the termination of disinfection, instead of waiting an indefinite period for drying.

The experiments referred to were made with the apparatus now in use on the disinfecting steamer "James W. Wadsworth," which constitutes a thoroughly representative type of the perfected steam disinfecting chamber of the present day. The tests were made by soaking small linen discs in bouillon containing the germs of the Bubonic Plague, diphtheria, and anthrax. The spores of the bacilli of anthrax are particularly hard to kill, and are looked upon as a severe test in any experiment. The germs referred to were made particularly virulent by the inoculation of white mice and guinea pigs, this portion of the work being done at the Bacteriological Laboratory of the Health Officer's Department at Swinburne Island. The infected linen discs were placed inside of bundles of clothing, bedding, carpets, paper, etc., these packages being arranged in a shape similar to those usually presented for disinfection. It was found early in the experimental work that paper offered a decided resistance to the penetration of steam—much more than any other material. It was therefore constantly used in the tests. The infected discs were inclosed in packages of paper of different weight and tightly folded; in fact, the amount of paper used exceeded the weight of any wrapping that might be used for packages in transit. Canvas bags containing clothing in the manner used by sailors, heavy mattresses, carpets, and rugs, blankets, sheets, etc., etc., tightly rolled, containing infected discs inclosed, were also tested, the weight of each package being carefully taken in order that the results could be corroborated by second and third tests of exactly the same character, this being done to guard against errors. At the expiration of the test, the discs were at once removed and placed in glass tubes containing bouillon to revive and facilitate the growth of the germs if they were still alive. The discs remained in this condition for a week, or until it could be definitely settled as to the growth of the micro-organisms. Although the results, which are voluminous, cannot be given in detail in this article, it may be said that a summing up of the work showed positively and conclusively that steam at a temperature of 230 degrees, Fahr., with an exposure of 15 minutes will destroy all germs which may be exposed or contained in bundles of clothing, bedding, etc., presented for disin-

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fection. Self-registering thermometers were in some cases placed inside the packages with the infected discs in order to ascertain the degree of temperature which reached the interior of the package, and it was of great interest and value to know that in all cases a temperature of 150 degrees, Fahr., at least was reached in the largest and heaviest packages of newspapers; whereas in the ordinary package of clothing, bedding, etc., it varied from 175 to 230 degrees, Fahr.; the latter being the temperature of the steam chamber.

These results fully corroborate the laboratory experiments, which have shown that a moist temperature of 150 degrees, Fahr., will usually kill the germs of most infectious disease when directly in contact with them.

It must be understood that the range for practical disinfection with steam is somewhat limited. Materials containing leather, rubber, wood, etc., are permanently injured or destroyed by steam. However, the materials which most frequently carry contagion, such as clothing and bedding, are promptly and effectively acted upon without injury. It is particularly unfortunate that a disinfectant so powerful and reliable as steam should be limited in its practical application, and the urgent need of a reliable agent, which can be used where steam is impracticable, has been fully appreciated. There has been no need of a stimulus to discover a disinfectant which will answer this requirement. It would seem that our hopes in this direction are about to be realized, or, I may say, to a great extent have already been realized.

In 1868, Professor Hoffman, a German investigator, discovered the disinfecting properties of formaldehyde gas, generated by the oxidation of wood or methyl alcohol. But not until the past three or four years, during which time the experimental work with disinfectants has been most active, has this agent received a thorough investigation. The past year has been prolific in valuable experimental investigations with this gas conducted in the best laboratories of this country and abroad.

In conjunction with the experiments made with steam already described, important tests have been made with formaldehyde gas at the New York Quarantine station. Packages similar to those used in the steam experiments have been exposed under various conditions to this gas. These have been made in con-

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junction with work done in the laboratory, and although the experimental work is not yet completed, the results are very satisfactory and fully justify us in the conclusion that formaldehyde gas is an agent of pronounced germicidal powers. It also has the rare quality of not injuring the fabrics with which it comes in contact, not in any way affecting the delicate colors found in silks, wall paper, etc. Its penetrating power, however, is not great, but sufficiently so to surely disinfect clothing and bedding, which is unrolled with the surfaces exposed.

Experiments which are now being made with sulphur dioxide or sulphurous acid gas and other disinfectants may yet disclose valuable qualities which are now unknown to us.

During the past year the disinfecting steamer "James W. Wadsworth" has been completed and placed in commission at the New York Quarantine Station; with this it has been possible to make use, in a practical way, of the knowledge gained by the experimental work with disinfectants. The "Wadsworth" is really a portable disinfecting outfit, having the apparatus for disinfection by all the methods now approved. The vessel is always under steam both night and day, and is ready for use at an hour's notice; with it disinfection can be performed at any point in the harbor or connecting waters at any time. The importance of this can only be fully appreciated by those who are directly interested. Before the completion of this outfit it was necessary to remove to the disinfecting station on Hoffman Island in the lower harbor all goods which required disinfection. The time required for transportation involved considerable delay to the ship, particularly in disagreeable or foggy weather. Night disinfection was practically out of the question. Now the weekly mail from Bombay, India, is frequently treated during the night and delivered to the post-office in New York ready for the morning delivery.

Vessels which are usually held for disinfection at the New York Quarantine carry merchandise and no passengers. They come from ports which are known to be infected—generally with yellow fever. These vessels often remain in the infected port some time, and the crew are allowed to visit the shore. Their places of rendezvous on land are generally those in which contagious disease thrives. While the crew may not themselves become infected, it is possible for them to act as a medium of contagion,

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or rather carry on board infected clothing, etc. Therefore, as a matter of precaution, at certain times of the year, these vessels are subjected to a thorough disinfection at this port, even if all on board are well. Thus no element of doubt remains as to the possible presence of contagion on board, and the vessel proceeds to the city in a clean and wholesome condition. The frequency with which disinfection is now performed renders it imperative that every effort should be made to interfere as little as possible with commerce. The construction of the "James W. Wadsworth" has, I believe, reduced this period of detention to a minimum. A general description of its use may be of interest. Upon the arrival of a vessel which is required to be held for disinfection, the "Wadsworth" steams alongside and is fastened to the ship. The crew, under the supervision of a quarantine officer, place their clothing and bedding in bundles, which are transferred to the disinfecting boat. Through an opening in the after part of the deck they are dropped into the cradle of the disinfecting chamber, which has been pulled out for their reception. In this cradle are also placed the ship's hangings and all other materials which are to be disinfected by steam. The crew are then transferred to the deck of the "Wadsworth" and pass down the companionway in the stern and enter the disrobing-room. Here they remove their clothing, which is also put in bundles, and upon which are pinned metallic checks containing numbers. Duplicates of these numbers on rubber cords, are hung around the necks of the owners. These bundles are placed with the others in the steam chamber. The men pass forward to the bathrooms, and after bathing they again pass forward into the dressing-room, where, upon the presentation of their checks, they receive their clothing and their effects which have passed through the steam apparatus. After dressing they ascend to the deck of the "Wadsworth" and return to their ship; the bedding, etc., is also returned immediately after treatment. Materials such as furs, silk goods, leather, etc., which are injured by steam are placed in separate packages and dropped through an opening in the forward part of the deck into the steel chamber constructed for disinfection with formaldehyde gas. After the removal of the crew, clothing, bedding, etc., from the ship, employees of the "Wadsworth" are sent aboard for the purpose of scrubbing, cleaning, and disinfecting the forecastle

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and other apartments marked for treatment. A hot soda solution is first used. This is carried from tanks on the disinfecting boat by hose. The application of this solution with the aid of brushes removes the grease and filth; following this cleaning, the woodwork is sprayed with a solution of corrosive sublimate, or the apartments are fumigated with sulphurous acid gas. Upon the completion of the treatment described, and the return of the men to the ship, the disinfection is completed and the vessel allowed to proceed. Particular attention is always paid on these ships to the forecastle, which is usually filthy and almost always the seat of infection, when it exists on board. It is a source of considerable satisfaction to witness the demonstration of pleasure, upon the part of the crew, upon entering the apartments assigned to them on the "Wadsworth." These rooms are supplied with a metallic lining, enamelled white, which covers the walls, ceiling, and floors, and which is kept scrupulously clean; with the pleasing interior, plenty of clean towels, a shower bath having an agreeable temperature, they evidently feel that there is nothing more in this line to be desired. The ships in question carry a crew of from ten to forty or fifty, and the entire treatment occupies about five hours. This, however, does not include the disinfection of the cargo or hold of the vessel, which only in rare instances is presumably infected. Should a case of contagious disease be found on board, the individual is first removed and the treatment above described follows, after which the crew is either removed to Hoffman Island for observation, leaving the agent to select other men to take the vessel to the city, or the ship remains at quarantine with the crew on board. This is admissible, as the number is small and can be consistently cared for on board. The general rules, as above described, are modified in certain instances, but the principle of the work is adhered to in all cases.

On the arrival of a large passenger ship having on board one or more cases of infectious disease, the cases are first transferred to the hospital at Swinburne Island, the passengers and their luggage removed to Hoffman Island for disinfection alone, or disinfection and observation—depending on the disease and the amount of exposure. The ship and crew are then treated in the manner already described.

Simply an outline of the procedure has been given. A description of the details of the work and the great care neces-

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sary during the inspection and disinfection would exceed the limits of this article.

In conclusion, I may say that with the exercise of proper care and the use of the modern appliances already described, it is reasonable to assume that the detention of a ship beyond the period necessary for thorough disinfection will soon be a thing of the past. Quarantine detention will then affect only passengers and crew, who are held for observation, or to complete a period of incubation. I repeat what I have already said, that the treatment of a presumably infected ship and passengers together is as a rule impracticable, inconsistent, and not sustained by experience, and that an infected ship and its passengers should, if possible, part company immediately upon the arrival in port, that each may be treated as the occasion demands. The fact that a port of entry does not contain accommodations for persons held for observation is unfortunate for all.

It would seem that with the practical application of the scientific knowledge of germ life we now possess, and with the absolute certainty of the destruction of these micro-organisms by proper disinfection, the quarantine work of the future will receive the respect and hearty co-operation of the public.

ALVAH H. DOTY.

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THEOSOPHY AND ETHICS.

BY E. T. HARGROVE, PRESIDENT OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETIES IN AMERICA, EUROPE, AND AUSTRALASIA.

FEW systems of thought have been more widely misunderstood and misrepresented than that known as Theosophy. Only within the last few years have people begun to realize that the Theosophical Society and the philosophy so many of its members adhere to must be taken into serious account as important factors in the moulding of modern thought. The newspapers, though now we number many warm supporters among them, and receive intelligent consideration from nearly all, were formerly of the belief that Theosophists exclusively concerned themselves with weird phenomena, and reporters felt it at once their privilege and pleasure to make extravagant "copy" out of theosophical commonplace. John Stuart Mill well said that "all reforms have to pass through three stages, viz., ridicule, argument, and adoption." Theosophy has won its way well into the second stage, with the growing certainty of attaining the third at no distant future.

It was thought to be something new, to be but another invention of this peculiarly inventive age. Further acquaintance showed that theosophy, a word meaning Divine Wisdom, was older than history, and that its nineteenth century exponents laid particular stress upon its immense antiquity, asserting that they were merely repeating that which the sages of every race and age had invariably taught. They further made it clear that instead of pursuing the uncanny and extraordinary, they were studying the nature of man and the universe, taking the sacred books and philosophical treatises of the world as their text-books, and, by way of propaganda, were trying to remind the humanity of to-day of long forgotten truths which harmonized with all true religion, science, and philosophy.

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Ignorant people in every century have hastily concluded that they and their contemporaries were hugely superior to their forbears. There are many persons in this generation who consider Rider Haggard, whom they have read, the superior of Shakespeare, whom they have not read; Professor Huxley a greater light than Plato; Henry Ward Beecher a more brilliant representative of religion than old Martin Luther, or Ananda, the beloved disciple of Gautama, or Shankaracarya, of whom they have probably never heard at all. The tendency of every historical epoch has been to glorify itself at the expense of its predecessors, and recent advances in the physical sciences have done much to accentuate this very human habit. Fortunately, there are always exceptions to such rules, and a few thinking people, among them the Theosophists, have ventured to ask if it be not possible that man himself has been overlooked in this present universal analysis of all visible things; if it be not reasonable to suppose that the ancients—who professed to study themselves rather than the phenomena around them—may have gathered information of vital importance, concerning their own states of consciousness at any rate, which would be both instructive and helpful if placed at the disposal of mankind to-day?

Man soon wearies of new fads and fancies. The worship of matter has already ceased to be fashionable. It is only unchanging truth that holds man's interest to the end. He may turn from it, may devote his mind and heart to transitory sensations, but sooner or later and often unknowingly, he returns to his everlasting search for truth and wisdom. The only conceivable object of life is to learn how to live, and those who reject this theory of life and seek pleasure or knowledge even, without regard to results, are learning their lessons just the same. There are some children who will never believe that fire burns until they have scorched their fingers.

Many are beginning to realize that the science of right living is worthy of the deepest attention, and, as a result, the orthodox systems of ethics are being discarded as unsatisfactory. These systems may be roughly classified under two categories: first, the dogmatic system, common to all religions, which asserts that certain moral laws should be obeyed because they are the laws of God, revealed in some sacred book; and second, the utilitarian system,

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which consists in formulating various rules of conduct which should be followed if man desires to do his duty by his fellows and by future generations.

The dogmatic system is evidently faulty, as its effectiveness depends upon the faith of the individual in some particular Book of Revelations and his anticipation of either reward or punishment in the future, or upon his religious devotion to the unseen law-giver. Further, in every instance, such books are contradictory, as in the case of the Christian Bible, which in one place maintains the Mosaic doctrine of an "eye for an eye"—the doctrine of revenge—and in another, while "endorsing the law and the prophets," breathes a spirit of divine love and forgiveness. This autocratic and arbitrary system is repugnant to free reason and consistent self-respect. Thinking people will not blindly accept the *ipse dixit* of book or teacher. They want to know the rational basis of any particular declaration or injunction, they wish to understand the operation and effect of the ethical and moral systems inculcated; and only if their reason and intuition agree in endorsing these will they give unqualified assent to both precept and practice.

It is on that account that the utilitarian system has also proved itself unsatisfactory. Based upon a study of physical nature and of history, certain generalizations are made in regard to actions deemed most likely to help forward the evolution of the race. It is virtually said: "If you desire to assist your fellows, and as fathers and mothers help instead of hinder the progress of future generations, you should do so and so, and should abstain from acts of such and such a nature." But this requires the sacrifice of immediate pleasures for the sake of a remote posterity, and as most people are selfish they are apt to reply that unborn races may be interesting in theory, but are sufficiently impalpable in fact to be conveniently ignored, and in any case will have opportunity to look out for themselves. They do not see how they personally are to be benefited by conforming to these ethical injunctions, and, until they do, prefer to continue as at present. Others, again, ask what is to be the end of it all. They have heard that this earth must sooner or later cease to exist, perhaps by a process of solar cremation, perhaps as the result of complete glacialization, involving in both cases the extinction of man. For the fol-

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lowers of the utilitarian system do not as a rule consider man as much more than a wonderful piece of mechanism; they do not generally believe in the immortality of the soul, and if they do, have only the haziest possible conception of that soul's future. It is not to be wondered at that people refuse to be satisfied with such make-shifts and demand some philosophy of life, which, while in perfect harmony with all that is true in modern scientific teachings, will not antagonize their religious sentiment and intuition.

This philosophy of life and scheme of the universe are contained in Theosophy. In order to understand it there is no absolute necessity to accept the well-known theosophical doctrines of Reincarnation and the law of Compensation, though they are quite logical and certainly throw additional light on all the problems that await our solution, on the problem of universal justice above all others. I shall endeavor to show that apart from these most ancient teachings, Theosophy provides a basis for ethics which is impregnable. Certain fundamental propositions must be granted, and will readily be granted by the vast majority of thinking people. These fundamental propositions are:

(1.) The universality of law, and the essential unity of nature.

This implies that nature is one harmonious whole, including the physical, etheric, mental, moral, spiritual, and any other existing worlds. It denies the necessity of dividing the universe arbitrarily into two water-tight compartments, one to be known as the natural world, the other as the supernatural, pointing out that no one has as yet succeeded in discovering the limits of nature. It condemns as illogical the relegation of all mysteries to the compartment labelled supernatural. It finds law everywhere and asserts that an actual law of nature must operate uniformly and consistently, not spasmodically and arbitrarily.

(2.) The power of thought to affect and mould matter.

The statement of this proposition purposely excludes any consideration of the origin of thought. It leaves ample margin for the indisputable influence of matter upon thought, though this influence is commonly retarding or negative in character. It needs no faith for its acceptance, as it is a matter of common knowledge that the thought of the mother may act with dynamic

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effect upon the unborn child in direct proportion to the thought's intensity. In addition to this, hypnotism has finally demonstrated the power of mind over matter. Montegazza states that he was able to induce local reddening of the skin by simply thinking intently of the spot. Delboeuf says that he can influence the secretion of saliva by his will or ideas. Focachon is recorded to have hypnotized a subject, and after placing a postage stamp on the shoulder and covering it with a bandage, suggested this was a blister. "The subject was watched carefully and after twenty hours the skin was found thickened and dead, of a yellowish-white color, the region puffy and surrounded by an intensely red zone." The blister was photographed. Charcot and others have been too frequently quoted to the same effect to require recital here. Explain it as you will, postulate the existence of some intermediary such as the ether or "astral light" between mind and gross matter—the facts remain and continue to be recorded. The simplest proof of any, and one easily verified by experience, is this: A patient with excruciating toothache, if his attention be suddenly and strongly attracted to some other subject—such as the burning of the house in which he is at the time—will instantly forget his pain and will not feel it again until his attention relaxes from this dominant impression. And who does not know that a man's thought will mould his face, ennobling it or making his features sinister and forbidding? In the face of an old man one can read the record of his life.

As subsidiary to this second proposition it should be granted that all actions performed by man originate in his mind. This is clearly the case in deliberate acts, and is as clearly true of so-called automatic actions, once Lamarck's biological axiom is taken into account that function precedes organism and that of necessity desire precedes function. In other words, actions which have now become automatic arose in the first place from desire and may be said to have been originally deliberate.

Applying this subsidiary proposition to ethics, it will be seen that every evil act originates in an evil thought; that the same is true of good acts, and it therefore follows that while right and wrong actions are matters of vital importance, it will be sufficient to study and master the science of right thought in order to insure the performance of right and wise actions. This, in itself,

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is an entire reversion of the modern method, which concerns itself largely with visible results, but which cares little for the concealed thought and motive. Even the ten commandments deal almost entirely with actions; but, not content with what might be called the materialism of these ordinances, the nineteenth century has erected unto itself another and greater commandment than any of them—"Thou shalt not be found out!" So long as that unwritten law is obeyed, the rest are of small account. The drawback is that the experts in wickedness are less likely to be found out than the tyros! But anything more hopelessly immoral than such a conception of "what is proper" cannot be conceived. It results inevitably, however, from that jealous consideration of appearances and the comparative carelessness as to the well-spring of action which exists in the mind of every man and woman. The inductive method has been followed for so long that causes are almost totally disregarded and effects reign supreme.

Theosophists, at any rate, believe in the Biblical teaching that to think a sin is to commit it, *de facto*, if not *de jure*. They concern themselves primarily with the laws of thought. They avail themselves of all that is best in the two other systems which have been briefly reviewed above. Instead, however, of taking one revealed book as their criterion of truth, they take the sacred literature of the world, and recognizing that their authors were in a very real sense "professors" of ethics, they treat them as they would treat authorities on chemistry, if they were studying that science. They collate the various conclusions arrived at, compare and classify them, and then proceed to verify for themselves the general result in this way obtained. In studying chemistry it would be manifestly absurd to confine one's self to a single text-book; in studying ethics it is evidently wiser to take and compare the conclusions of Krishna, Confucius, Lao-tsze, Buddha, Zoroaster, Plato, Moses, Jesus, Paul, Mohammed, and others, than to limit one's observation to a single representative, who at best taught people of a certain type of mind, for which he must have made constant allowance, in this way deliberately confining his instruction to the special needs and understanding of his hearers. Jesus, for instance, taught the Hebrews, who at that time were not a metaphysical race by any means, nor one capable of subtle distinctions in the domain of

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thought. Gautama Buddha, on the other hand, attempted to reform and purify Hinduism, and had to deal with some of the subtlest metaphysicians the world has ever seen. He also spoke to the common people, and all know with what success; but the common people of India are born philosophers, even to this day of their comparative degradation. Necessarily Jesus and Gautama differed in their expression of the truth, but close attention to their respective doctrines shows that truth to them was the same.

Following this preliminary study of conclusions arrived at by great sages will come verification by means of history. The experience of generations of men will probably confirm these conclusions, but as this process has been frequently exploited, and its value is generally overestimated, there is no need to dwell upon it at any length. It does not bring conviction to the average mind.

Finally will come the supreme test, that of regulated commonsense. Rules of conduct will be studied in the light of universal laws. Keeping in mind the first proposition, it will be seen readily that any law which we know as holding true in physical nature can also be applied to the world of thought. That Newton's law—action and reaction are equal and opposite—governs the activity of the mind, can hardly be disputed. Everyone knows that following an intense stimulation of any function of the mind, reaction follows of an opposite nature. This is particularly observable of the emotions and with emotional people. A philosopher should be able to lead his own reactions, instead of being led by them; and many people do this without understanding the laws they unconsciously obey. They stop some activity of the mind or emotional nature before it wearies them, and change the current of their thought without difficulty. Others permit themselves to be carried away by some sensation and then by reaction are led, independently of their own wills, into feelings of an opposite or contrasted character.

This illustration helps to demonstrate the fact that thought, to be understood, must be studied as a force. If this be done, many of the ethical teachings of the world's saviors will be scientifically appreciated, though generally classed at the present time as unpractical. People are apt to forget that while a text-book on science becomes *passé* in five or six years, the laws of ethics are

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immutable, for they are an unchanging quantity, true—if true in the first place—now and forever. Bishop Magee's famous article discarding many of Christ's precepts as inapplicable to this age conclusively proved that religion as now taught, and considered apart from philosophy, cannot defend its position, and will never be able to do so until religion, science, and philosophy unite once more as so many inseparable aspects of the one truth.

How many modern exponents of religion would dare defend the reasonableness of the doctrine taught by Christ, Buddha, and all the greatest sages, that "hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love"? How many of them would venture to apply this to social and political relationships, to international affairs? They would not be listened to, because they could not justify the faith in them by argument or reason. Yet here we have a direct statement: that hatred, a state of consciousness and therefore a force, can never be stopped by a force of the same nature, but only by love, its opposite. Simple and direct enough, and if true, to be taken into serious account; for if a man can be shown that he defeats his own ends by maintaining any given attitude of mind, he will probably try to change his course and adapt himself to the exigencies of the situation. He knows, for example, that if he wishes to arrest the course of a billiard ball moving from right to left of a table, he cannot do so by driving another ball after it in the same direction; he must meet it with some contrary force, whether by another ball, or by hand or cue, travelling from left to right in a direction opposite to that taken by the ball he wishes to stop. By means of this very ordinary illustration—itself an example of a law governing the whole universe—he is able to realize that hatred's opposite, the force called love, the regenerator, alone can nullify hate, the destroyer. Studying hatred from another point of view, he will be forced to the conclusion that an individual entertaining this sentiment tends to destroy himself. By observing the effect of hatred and anger upon his own organism he will gain sufficient evidence of its disruptive and disorganizing effect. It disturbs, perverts, unbalances both the physical and the intellectual faculties and must certainly affect still more profoundly the ether interpenetrating the whole of his body and brain. It injures himself more than anyone else.

In the same way all unworthy sentiments such as jealousy,

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vanity, and the rest, can be shown to be destructive and certain to defeat their own object. Jealousy, as a state of consciousness as a mode of energy, is evidently contractive and separative. Its effect on the physical organism is "withering"; its immediate result is to separate us from our fellows on account of the contraction taking place in our own minds; while love, as an expansive and radiating force, attracts everyone, evokes the love of others in response to our own, particularly if our love be unselfish. This qualification may give rise to a question in regard to the difference between selfish and unselfish love, and as to the greater attractive power of the latter. Selfish love may be compared to a force that goes out in order to bring back something it desires; it demands recognition, reward; it is not content to give, but strives to take. Unselfish love, on the other hand, finds its greatest happiness in bestowing itself freely upon its object, regardless of any return that may or may not be made; it gives, it does not take, though it may receive. It is purely expansive in its action, while selfish love expands but to contract, and is as destructive in the end as jealousy or hatred. The one attracts, the other repels if it does not enslave.

It would be easy to multiply verifications on these lines of almost forgotten ethical doctrines. The teachers of the past were profound observers of cosmic nature as well as of the wonderfully complex workings of the human heart and mind. They taught what they knew, not what they guessed. They spoke from their own experience, not from books. Hence their doctrines, when properly recorded and faithfully transcribed, will bear the most careful analysis and will be found to be statements of law, not the mere moral platitudes which many suppose that they are. As laws of nature, they should be obeyed, for such laws cannot be violated with impunity, and by disregarding them we injure not only ourselves but our nearest and dearest, as well as humanity as a whole. If laws of physical health are ignored we know what the result will be: disease, not confined to ourselves but contagious and likely to affect thousands. Mankind is one, and injury to any of its members must result in injury to all, either directly or indirectly. Laws of moral and mental health, once recognized, require the same unquestioning obedience, for the forces operating in that sphere are more instantaneous in their action and "a weed grows a yard in the night." By means

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of the all-penetrating ether, thought is communicated from mind to mind with lightning-like rapidity, affecting all minds responsive to itself for good or ill according to its own character.

In this way the Theosophist is able to meet everyone on his own ground; showing the selfish man that wrong thought will destroy him and defeat his own aims; appealing to the unselfish man on the broader and nobler basis of compassion for his fellowmen, pointing out to him that a thought of anger will find a resting place in any mind where similar thoughts exist—for like attracts like—and that this additional impulse may be sufficient to drive some poor wretch into a crime against which he may have for long struggled bravely. The universal brotherhood of humanity is a truth of terrific proportions; for it involves responsibility for every act we perform, for every thought we generate. The universality of law involves the universal application of the law of cause and effect, and it follows that in the mind as well as in the domain of physics, "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." As inevitably, whatever a man now reaps he must have sown in the past, no matter where or when. Man stands forth as the child of his own past, the moulder of his own future. He is the master of his destiny. Perhaps his greatest crime is lack of faith in himself, but this lack of faith arises from ignorance, and if that be removed man will awake from his long sleep, will claim his birthright, and will take his true position in the universe as a conscious co-operator with nature.

E. T. HARGROVE.

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THE EXPORT BOUNTY PROPOSITION.

BY ALEX. R. SMITH, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE ASSOCIATION.

THE last generation has been one of marvellous progress in the United States in every great industry save two, viz.: Agriculture and shipping. The former has enormously increased in volume, although but little in value, while in the foreign trade the latter is on the verge of extinction. The condition of each is a reproach to the nation, a standing indictment of its statesmen, a demonstration of either their incapacity or their neglect. With excitable haste the Congress has been called together in extraordinary session to readjust protective schedules for our manufacturers, when the root of the evil lies in the depressed condition—long sustained—of agriculture and shipping.

And yet the announcement is made that the Congress will adjourn as soon as the tariff has been made more protective, so that the business of the country may be resumed, while two ulcers—one gnawing at the very vitals of the nation—are neither treated nor removed!

For the relief and protection of agriculture, Senator Frank J. Cannon, of Utah, has become the sponsor and advocate in the Senate of what is known as "the export bounty proposition." He has offered an amendment to the pending tariff bill providing for the payment of an export bounty on agricultural staples, in order, as he asserts, to equalize the benefits of protection in the United States. Based upon last year's exports of agricultural staples, he calculates upon a cash annual payment from the national treasury of about $18,000,000, in order to increase the value of the staples thus protected to the amount of about $225,000,000, in the home market. He has publicly asserted that fifteen Senators have agreed to demand a vote upon his amendment before

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the Tariff bill is disposed of.* The purpose of this is, doubtless, to provide the advocates of the export bounty proposition with campaign material for wide distribution and discussion, to arouse public interest and the support of the people.

A brief summary of the facts and conditions which these advocates will be able to present from our census returns alone, will show how strong their premise will be, whatever the value of their conclusions : From 1870 to 1890 the area of land under cultivation increased from 188,921,099 to 357,616,755 acres, and the number of persons employed thereon from 5,133,000 to 8,215,000, while their products increased in value from $2,447,538,658 to $2,460,107,454; the wages of farm labor fell from $25.92 to $18.60 without board, and from $16.55 to $12.54 with board, during which same period the wages of factory operatives increased from $302 to $485 a year. The value of the farms, inclusive of land, fences, buildings, implements, machinery and live stock, increased in round numbers from ten to sixteen billions of dollars during those two decades. That is to say, while the area under cultivation doubled and employed 60 per cent. more labor, the value of the products increased but one half of one per cent., although the increased value of the farms has necessitated close to 60 per cent. increase in interest and taxes. To grasp the full import of this array of statistics is to appreciate, in a measure, the direful and even more desperate condition, to-day, of American agriculturalists.

A few extracts from Senator Cannon's speech in support of his amendment, taken from the *Congressional Record* of May 25, 1897, will show the indorsements and present status of the proposition :

"We have the highest testimonials in behalf of this proposition. Some of the purest and best statesmen the United States has had, have been its advocates. Hamilton and Albert Gallatin gave their voice to it. Hamilton went so far as to say that every dollar of duty collected for the protection of manufactures should be given back to agriculture through the medium of an export bounty, because it was inevitably taken from agriculture. Webster and Clay inferentially indorsed the same proposition, and the people of the United States are giving it their approval now.

"I am in receipt of communications from State and Pomona granges, shipping organizations, boards of trade, and clergymen, all advocating that

* On June 10, Senator Cannon's amendment was voted upon. Ten votes were cast for and fifty-nine against it. Senator Perkins offered to support it if Senator Cannon would accept an amendment limiting the payment of the bounty to exports of agricultural staples carried in American vessels, which Senator Cannon declined.

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this principle shall be inaugurated at this time in behalf of equitable protection to the people of the United States."

In a newspaper interview published the next day, he is credited with saying that "100,000 people have united in memorials which are now on file in the Senate" in behalf of the proposition.

The original and leading advocate of this proposition is Mr. David Lubin, of California, who is not only a proprietor in one of the largest commercial establishments on the Pacific Coast, but is also the owner of several hundred acres of California wheat land. For several years he has been devoting all of his time, and his own means entirely, to the discussion of his proposition and the distribution of literature explanatory of it.

The export bounty proposition may be thus defined: It has seemingly become the fixed policy of the government of the United States to protect those of its citizens whose labor, in the home market, is brought into competition with the imported products of foreign labor, which is accomplished through the tariff. The agricultural staples, of which a portion is exported, Mr. Lubin shows, cannot be protected by a tariff on imports, but, being sold in the world's open markets, command only the world's price. He also shows that American producers receive but one price for these staples, whether exported or consumed at home, and that is the foreign price, less the cost of delivery in the foreign market where the price is fixed. That is to say, if cotton were selling in Manchester for nine cents a pound, and it cost two cents a pound to move it from the plantation on which it was produced to Manchester, then, whether the cotton was consumed in the village adjoining the plantation, or in Manchester, the producer would receive but seven cents a pound for his product. So, too, with wheat. If it commanded a dollar a bushel in Liverpool, and it cost twenty-five cents a bushel to convey it from California to Liverpool, whether the wheat were consumed in Liverpool or in California, the producer would receive but seventy-five cents a bushel for it.

Mr. Lubin contends, as do his supporters, that the producers of Egyptian cotton, or Argentine or Russian wheat, receive at the point of production the world's price for their products, less the cost of transportation to the world's markets, precisely the same as our own farmers do, and hence the American producers

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of these staples are in unprotected competition with the cheapest and most degraded labor on the cheapest and most fertile lands in the world. The same machine tools and implements which were at one time almost the exclusive possessions of Americans are now in the hands of this low-priced labor, thus depriving American agriculturists of whatever advantage their exclusive use formerly gave them in competition with the rest of the world.

These facts and conditions, says Mr. Lubin, are the real causes for the depressed prices of agricultural staples which has so long existed. This, he asserts, explains why the purchasing power of our agriculturists has become abridged, and the consequent decreased demand for and diminished production of our manufactures, with all of the consequent distress and misery which the lack of employment and the lack of income have of late years inflicted upon the country, which will continue to exist so long as the great agricultural portion of our population receives for its product no more than the cost—and in some cases not that—of production.

In these circumstances, the advocates of this proposition assert but one of two things can restore prosperity to the nation: 1. Either the producers of our agricultural staples must be permitted to buy in the cheapest market, in which the price of their products is fixed; or, 2. The price of their products must be enhanced in the home market equally with the enhanced price which a duty on competing imports enables our manufacturers to obtain for their products in the home market.

The advocates of this proposition say that to the extent the protective policy now reduces the cost of manufactures, because of the competition between home producers, to the same extent they will very cheerfully submit to the reduced cost of agricultural staples that home competition may effect through protection by the export bounty. They say that the competition to which agricultural producers have been subjected of recent years because of the enormous agricultural development all over the world, and which is intensifying and perpetuating a condition that has already become intolerable to them, can only mean their survival through legislative aid. If this is denied them and they are driven from their farms into the other crowded avenues of employment, this will but accentuate the distress which such a change will involve both to themselves and to those with whom

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they will thus come into competition. They point to the rapid absorption of sugar production, by which the Germans, through the operation of their export bounty, are displacing their foreign competitors in the sugar markets of the world. They too, they say, must be fortified with an export bounty, or displaced by their foreign rivals who now possess the advantages of cheap land, cheap labor, machine tools and implements of the latest improved pattern, accessibility to the cheapest transportation and unlimited capacity for enlargement, to the ultimate exclusion of American agricultural products from foreign markets, possibly involving, before such an accomplishment has been consummated, industrial changes that may test the strength of our social and political institutions. But all of this can be avoided, they believe, and with enduring benefit to the whole nation, if, in their competition with the rest of the world, they become possessed of such an advantage as their export bounty proposition would give them, and in the just equalization of the benefits of protection.

The export bounty advocates have no fear, they say, of the exporters absorbing the bounty. The price of their products is at all times a matter of public knowledge, and the amount of the bounty would become a fixed and constant factor that could not be absorbed by anyone but the producer. Nor do they have any fear of the exporter using the bounty as a means by which to undersell others in the foreign markets. The world's price would not be affected by the American bounty, which would only be felt in the United States. Therefore the export bounty would be of no advantage to foreign consumers so far as effecting a reduction in price, beyond that effected by the aggregate world's increased production. The agricultural producer, then, they assert, would be placed upon the same plane in the home market, by protection, as the home manufacturer is.

The public discussion of this proposition, which has been extended, and by no means confined to this country, has disclosed a peculiar and unexpected character of indorsement and opposition. Free-traders, as a rule, who study the subject declare that, if protection is right, then the export bounty is also right; but they declare that protection is all wrong, and that free trade is desirable. Those who oppose the proposition are protectionists. The manner in which the proposition is defined arouses their resentment, and they will not agree that the protective system is

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inequitable and unjust. Their objections may be thus summarized: 1. That it would so stimulate home production as to depress the price of these staples until, even with the bounty added, it would be less than now. 2. That the government does not possess income sufficient to make such an annual outlay as this proposition would necessitate. 3. That diversification of production is the solution, the scientific accomplishment of which would prevent the production of a surplus and give agricultural staples protection by tariff. 4. That the proposition means the protection of these products in foreign markets. 5. The advocates of free silver coinage declare that the prices of these staples are fixed in gold standard countries where they are consumed, and the gold payments for which act as an enormous bounty to the producers of competing agricultural staples in silver standard countries, which the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 would put an end to. 6. Even the grangers themselves do not heartily support the proposition; that is to say, in a national organization which represents a million or more of our farmers, this proposition has annually been hotly debated, strongly advocated, and in the end lukewarm and expressionless or guarded resolutions forced upon the friends of the proposition. On the other hand, a large number of State and local granges have heartly indorsed it, as have boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and other associations, notably a gathering of shipbuilders in Philadelphia, in August, 1895.

The advocates of the export bounty proposition meet the opposing arguments in about the following answers: 1. The world's prices of agricultural staples are based upon the world's available surplus, and any increased production in the United States would depreciate the price which the foreign competitors of our producers received equally with the depreciation in the price to our people, while the latter would always be fortified with an advantage over their competitors to the amount of the bounty. Moreover, it is obvious that if the bounty did reduce the cost of these staples to such an extent as to make prices lower than at present, with the bounty added, the American consumers of such staples would be to no loss or disadvantage that they do not experience now. 2. The tariff of 1883 produced a surplus more than sufficient to provide for such an annual expenditure as the adoption of this proposition would involve, and there

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would be no difficulty in obtaining the money if the proposition were generally approved. 3. Diversification has the effect of lowering the prices of all products now protected of which there is not a surplus. If diversification should succeed in preventing the production of a surplus, then there would be a falling off of about 70 per cent. of our exports, and, the balance being insufficient to pay for our imports, would drain the country of its gold, or involve it in a rapidly accumulating indebtedness, which would mean final bankruptcy. 4. The advocates of this proposition deny that it would afford any protection to our agricultural staples in foreign markets, and assert that it would have no effect whatever except in the home market. 5. If the contention of the free-silverites is correct, the adoption of their remedy would merely place our agricultural producers on an equality with their foreign competitors, when it is protection against that equality which they seek, involving, as that equality would, a levelling of American social conditions in agricultural pursuits to the plane of their competitors. 6. The discussions in the National Grange meetings have been more political than economic. Diversification has been tried, as suggested, they assert, with the result that it so affected the opponents of the proposition as to make them ready for its adoption.

The cardinal basis of the demand for an export bounty on agricultural staples has always been its equity—that it would equalize protection, and that in justice protection should be extended to all our citizens whose labor comes in competition with foreign labor, so long as any portion of our labor is protected against such competition. When it was pointed out to Mr. Lubin, and afterward to the National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, that American ships in the foreign trade were in unprotected competition with foreign ships, the fact was conceded, and they agreed that in order that protection should be equitable, it must also cover our shipping in the foreign trade. In the bill (House No. 2626) introduced in the Fifty-fourth Congress as drafted by Mr. Lubin, protection was given to our shipping in the foreign trade by increasing the amount of the bounty ten per cent. when the exports were shipped in American vessels; and the great bulk of the petitions sent to Congress to which Senator Cannon referred in his speech were in behalf of protection to both agricultural staples and our shipping in the foreign

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trade. But these advocates of equitable protection have abandoned our shipping in the foreign trade, and it forms no part of their present demands nor of Senator Cannon's amendment. Their reason for this abandonment is the unsubstantiated claim that their shipping supporters have deserted them. But they assert, too, that they are working for the good of the Republic, not for the farmers as a class. This is especially true of the claim of the clergymen who have become pulpit advocates of this proposition—its equity is their defence for such advocacy, the righteousness of the proposition that all benefits must be shared equally—when they know, or ought to know, that, having admitted the injustice of leaving our shipping unprotected, they are now advocating a proposition that, until shipping is also protected, is inequitable and unjust. But, whether the farmers support them or not, these people advocate the export bounty proposition, they say, because of its equity. Basing their claim upon equity, neither the support nor the opposition of the farmers should influence them. If shipping, in equity, should be protected the attitude of the people affected ought to be unworthy of the consideration of these advocates. Having taken their stand upon the postulate of equity, they must accept the logic of it, uninfluenced by any considerations of support or opposition.

From 1688 until the beginning of the present century, Great Britain gave a bounty to exporters of grain, conditioned on its shipment in British vessels, the master and three-fourths of the mariners of which were required to be British subjects. Thus, for more than a hundred years, the producers of agricultural staples and the owners of vessels carrying the exports thereof, were simultaneously protected under the English export bounty act. It is worthy of mention that, at the same time the British bounty act was in force, the discriminating duty policy, also protective of British shipowners in the foreign trade, was in force—the modification of which policy is being advocated by Senator S. B. Elkins, of West Virginia, and the friends of American shipping who believe in protection. It is only since the introduction of the Elkins discriminating duty bill for the protection of shipping in the foreign trade that the advocates of the export bounty proposition have ceased to include in their demands for equitable protection, equal protection for our ship-

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ping. Should it ever occur that the export bounty proposition became acceptable to the American people, it is quite likely that a stipulation will be embodied in the bill providing for the payment of the bounty only when such exports are made in American vessels, just as the British act always provided for the employment of British ships for the carriage of exports of grain on which the bounty was paid.

If our producers of agricultural staples—that is to say, of wheat, and corn, and cotton, and tobacco—and our manufacturers and our shipowners should ever be equitably protected under one general bill, then protection would be enjoyed by all of our citizens whose labor is subject to foreign competition, and protection is neither asked nor required by any other of our industrial classes. If ultimately, say in a revenue tariff bill, there should be some such provision as the Cannon agricultural amendment, and another such as the Elkins bill in behalf of shipping in the foreign trade, then there would be no longer any reason to fear the quadrennial spectre of either tariff agitation or tariff change—but protection would have become permanent and have ceased to be either partisan or sectional. It would, in short, become as fixed an American economic principle as it was for centuries in Great Britain, until the days of Richard Cobden and John Bright, or as free trade long has been in Great Britain, whether the Liberals or the Conservatives are in control.

If the export bounty proposition shall satisfy the agriculturalists, and the discriminating duty policy shall satisfy the shipowners, and the manufacturers are satisfied with the protection they receive, such concessions, after all, would be a very small price to pay for the cessation of partisan tariff agitation and the permanency of an American economic policy.

If we shall but remember that we are one nation and one people, with infinitely diverse interests, and endeavor by patriotic concession and conciliation, instead of hide-bound partisanship, to adjust our legislation so that it shall deal fairly by all, we shall possibly arrive at something akin to unanimity in legislating where even the most stupendous and intricate economic problems are involved.

ALEX. R. SMITH.

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SPEAKER REED AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

THE leading article in the June number of this REVIEW was contributed by the Hon. Thomas B. Reed, now for the third time Speaker of the House of Representatives, an office which he has held longer than any other of his countrymen, with the exception of Nathaniel Macon, Henry Clay, Andrew Stevenson, and Samuel J. Randall. The article aimed to give an explanation of "How the House Does Business," and from many points of view the author's purpose was admirably fulfilled. Certainly no one is better qualified than is the Speaker to expound the subject, but as there are several questions touching which he chose to be silent, his paper could hardly be regarded as entirely satisfactory. It may be well to enumerate those questions for the sake of persons who might be tempted at first sight to assume Mr. Reed's exposition to be exhaustive.

It is undisputed by the Speaker that not only the members of what for the moment is the minority in the House of Representatives, but also the members of the majority, are more thoroughly gagged and shackled than are the members of any other parliamentary body in the world. What is the reason for such a state of things? The reason put forward by the Speaker is that so huge is the volume of business brought before the house that only by the existing method of muzzling and effacing individuals can any business at all be done. That this asserted reason is less well-founded than it might be will at once appear when we point out that far greater liberty of speech is enjoyed by the members of the French Chamber of Deputies and of the British House of Commons, although those are both larger bodies than is our

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House of Representatives, and although an incomparably greater volume of important and urgent business comes before each of those assemblies. The British House of Commons contains 670 members; the French Chamber of Deputies, 581; the House of Representatives, 357. From the numerical view-point the popular branch of our Federal legislature corresponds most closely to the German Reichstag, which has 397 members, but which has more work to do, since, in addition to its legislative functions with regard to federal affairs, it has to make laws for the Federal District, or Reichsland, of Alsace-Lorraine, which has no legislature of its own, but which contains more wealth and population than all of our Territories combined. As regards the volume of urgent and important business devolving on the French Chamber of Deputies and the British House of Commons, this must needs be far greater than that transacted by our House of Representatives, for the obvious reason that both France and the United Kingdom, instead of being confederations of semi-independent and mainly self-governing States, are intensely centralized and absolutely unified commonwealths. If we should suppose that our House of Representatives, in addition to the Federal business, which now properly comes before it, had to perform all the work now done by our forty-five State legislatures, we should get but an approximative idea of the vast scope of the law-making duties devolving upon the French Chamber of Deputies and the British House of Commons. We say that the idea would be only approximative, because, first, the Chamber of Deputies not only has to do for France all that our House of Representatives and forty-five State Legislatures do for the United States, but also to legislate for Algeria, for French West Africa, for French Farther India, and for the French possessions in the West Indies, in the Indian Ocean, and in the Pacific. Secondly, the British House of Commons not only has to do for the whole United Kingdom all that the House of Representatives and forty-five State Legislatures do for the United States, but it also has to legislate for all the so-called Crown colonies of Great Britain, and for the stupendous Anglo-Indian Empire, which contains nearly a fifth of the population of the globe. Does it not seem, then, unreasonable to talk of the overgrown and unmanageable business of the House of Representatives, when this business is compared with the overwhelming responsibilities of the parlia-

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mentary bodies just mentioned? Yet, although in London and in Paris there is fifty times more excuse than there is in Washington for the suppression of debate and of the rights of individual utterance, not for a moment would the members of the House of Commons, or of the Chamber of Deputies endure the process of strangulation and of virtual nullification to which the members of the House of Representatives have for some years subjected themselves. The members of either of the two first-named bodies would feel, and rightly feel, that by acquiescing in such extinguishment they were committing political suicide, that by their own act they were ceasing to be a deliberative assembly, and were representing their constituents only in name and not in fact.

It is worth noting that in the French Chamber of Deputies, and the same thing is true of the Italian Chamber, which also legislates for a centralized and unified monarchy, instead of for a confederation, the committees to which bills are referred, and from which they receive the form in which they are eventually returned to the Assembly, are not, as a rule, appointed by the Speaker, but are elected by the members themselves. The facts relating to this matter are not as well known in this country as they ought to be, and it is fortunate that of late information on the subject has been made accessible by Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell's book on *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*. In this useful work it is pointed out that the French Chamber of Deputies is divided into eleven sections called *bureaux*. These *bureaux* are of equal size, and every member of the Chamber belongs to one, and only one, of them, the division being made afresh every month *by lot*. The *bureaux* meet separately, and have three functions, the most important of which is the election of committees. Each of the *bureaux* chooses one of its own members, and the persons so elected constitute the committees. In the case of the more important committees it is sometimes deemed desirable to have a larger number of members, in which event the *bureaux* choose two or even three members apiece, the Chamber specifying by its rules or special vote the number of members to be elected. Thus, the committee on the budget, which is the most important one of all, consists of three members chosen by each of the *bureaux* and contains, therefore, thirty-three members. This committee on the budget, and the one appointed to audit the accounts of the government, remain un-

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changed for a year; a few of the others serve for a month, and then are chosen afresh. With these exceptions every measure is in theory referred to a special committee elected by the *bureaux* for the purpose. The practical working of this system is that the several parties and factions in the Chamber are represented on committees proportionately to their numerical strength. Thus constituted, the committees evince an amount of independence not easily conciliable with the principle of ministerial accountability to the legislature. That, of course, is not an objection which would have any weight for us, seeing that the members of the President's Cabinet are not responsible to the House of Representatives.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies is likewise divided by lot into nine sections, called *Ufficci*, which elect most of the committees, but the committee on the budget, which is the most important of all, is chosen directly by the Chamber, acting as an electoral committee of the whole. Committees on petitions are also elected directly by the Chamber; only the committees on elections and on rules are appointed by the presiding officer of the House. It is to be kept in view that in Italy, as in France, a whole committee is not chosen from any one party, but minorities are proportionately represented. In Rome, as in Paris, this committee system is criticised on the ground of its tendency to obstruct rather than facilitate the purposes of Ministers. We repeat that where Ministers are not accountable to the legislature the criticism would have no weight. We shall add that in Italy, since 1888, the Chamber of Deputies can, if it desire, order a general debate on a bill before it is referred to a committee, in which case, should the main principle of the measure be approved by the Chamber, the discussion in the committee is limited to a consideration of details. The smothering of bills in committee is impossible in the Italian Chamber, for it is provided that in case a committee does not report within thirty days the government or any member of the Chamber may move that a day be fixed for the second reading of the bill.

It may be well to say a word also about the procedure of the Reichstag in the matter of committees, the German Empire being, like the United States, a confederation, and the popular branch of its federal legislature dealing only with federal busi-

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ness. Mr. Lowell has shown us that the internal organization of the Reichstag conforms to the pattern generally followed in Continental chambers. At the beginning of each session the members are divided by lot into seven *abtheilungen*, or sections, which correspond to the *bureaux* of the French Chamber of Deputies, but differ in the respect that they last during a whole session, instead of being renewed at short intervals. The principal duty of the sections is to choose committees, each section electing one or more committeemen, according to the importance of the committee. As in France and Italy, however, the choice by the sections is really dictated by the party leaders, who agree in advance upon the number of seats on the committee to which each party shall be entitled. In the Reichstag, bills are not always referred to a committee, the majority of the members sometimes preferring to order an immediate discussion of important measures without the intervention of any committee at all. Let us note here that there was a time, although the fact seems to be well-nigh forgotten, when our House of Representatives, like the present French, Italian and German Chambers, chose its committees for itself. We are in a position to say that a careful investigation of the practice of the House in this regard, since the government established by the Constitution became operative, has been undertaken by a competent student of American history, and that the outcome of his researches will be presently published.

Now let us glance very briefly at the freedom of utterance enjoyed by individual members of European parliamentary assemblies, notwithstanding the fact that, transacting business, as most of them do, for intensely unified countries, they have far more work to perform than does a body dealing only with the collective interests of a confederation, like our House of Representatives. On the procedure of the British House of Commons we need not dwell, because it is familiar to the majority of American legislatures. We simply recall the fact in passing that a member of the British House of Commons has incomparably more liberty of expressing the views and wishes of his constituents than is at present possessed by a member of the popular branch of our federal assembly. Turning to the state of things in the French, Italian, and German chambers, we again find ourselves indebted to Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell for copious light upon the subject. What is

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known on the continent as the system of interpellations seems to have been originally suggested by the practice still followed in the British House of Commons of asking the Ministers questions which may relate to any conceivable subject. At St. Stephen's, however, the answer is not followed by a general debate, or by a vote, except in the unusual case where a motion to adjourn is made for the purpose of bringing the matter under discussion. In France, not only are questions addressed to the Ministers by members who really want information, but another kind of interrogatory has been developed which is used, not to get information, but to call the Cabinet to account and force the Chamber to pass judgment upon the conduct of the Executive. This is the interpellation; in form it is similar to the ordinary question, but the procedure in the two cases is different. In France a question can be addressed to a Minister only with his consent, whereas the interpellation is a matter of right, which any deputy may exercise. Another important difference consists in this, that the author of an ordinary question can alone reply to the Minister, no further discussion being permitted, and no motion being in order; the interpellation, on the other hand, is followed both by a general debate and by motions. The large part that interpellations play in French politics is shown by the fact that they arouse more popular interest than do even the speeches on great measures. We may mention further that under the Third Republic no fewer than ten ministries have fallen on account of adverse orders of the day moved after an interpellation or in the course of the ensuing debate. The development, indeed, of interpellations has coincided very closely with that of parliamentary government, and the French regard the privilege as one of the main bulwarks of political liberty. The practice was first regularly established after the accession of Louis Philippe, and it was freely used during the Republic of 1848. After the *Coup d'Etat* of December 2, 1851, it was abolished, but, toward the end of his reign Napoleon III., as a part of his concessions to the demand for parliamentary institutions, gradually restored the right of interpellation. Finally, under the present republic, the right has been used more frequently than ever before. Italy also sanctions the practice of interpellations, that is of questions addressed to the ministers, and followed by a debate and vote on an order of the day expressing the opinion of the Chamber of Deputies. There, how-

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ever, although a motion can be made immediately after the Minister has answered the interpellation, the debate and vote, instead of taking place at once, while the Chamber is in a state of excitement, is postponed to a future day. Nevertheless, interpellations are more numerous and occupy even more time in Italy than in France, although, as we have said, the Italian Chamber of Deputies has more work to do, and does it, than devolves on the House of Representatives. With regard to the popular branch of the German federal parliament, we may observe that the rules of the Reichstag provide for interpellations. Ostensibly, these are addressed to the Bundesrath, but in fact they are communicated to the Chancellor, who either answers them himself, or allows one of his subordinates to do so. A debate may ensue, if demanded by fifty members, but it is not followed by an order of the day, expressing the opinion of the House. Indeed, in Germany, interpellations have no such importance as they possess in France and Italy, because the system of ministerial accountability to the legislature does not exist. They give, however, the individual member great power of initiative.

We have thus far confined ourselves mainly to the first question left unanswered by Mr. Reed, why, namely, the gag and handcuff are at present more needed in the House of Representatives than in other parliamentary assemblies which comprise a greater number of members and have an incalculably larger amount of work to accomplish? The second question is this: if the sole justification for stifling debate in the House of Representatives, and for reducing the bulk of the members to sheer nullities, the mere simulacra and shadows of legislators, be the alleged necessity of getting through the business of the House, how does it happen that the House under such a system does, as a matter of fact, accomplish considerably less work than does the Senate, where no gag law prevails? About the fact there is no doubt whatever. Some of the statistics bearing on this point were, by an interesting coincidence, set forth by a correspondent of the REVIEW in the June number. In the Fifty-fourth Congress, upon which Speaker Reed dwells at some length, the Senate passed 1,682 bills and joint resolutions; the House of Representatives but 1,200. In the Fifty-third Congress the figures were 1,086 and 951 respectively; in the Fifty-second there were 1,350 bills and joint resolutions to the credit of the Senate, as

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against 990 for the House. We are told that a similar result could be shown in almost any Congress since the members of the House of Representatives have allowed themselves to be manacled and muzzled. We say "have allowed themselves," for of course the Speaker is in no wise responsible for the existing system. It is submitted that by the figures just cited the single plea put forward by Mr. Reed to excuse the obliteration of individuals in the House is rendered inadmissible.

There is a third question upon which we wish that a man so superlatively qualified to illuminate the subject, as is the Speaker, had thrown some light. How does he account for the deplorable loss of prestige on the part of the chamber wherein he presides, as compared with the contemporaneous Senate? How does he explain the scant attention paid by the public press to the proceedings of the House of Representatives, when at the same time the debates in the Senate are reported with care? How does he decipher what to many modern eyes seems the inscrutable, historical phenomenon that Henry Clay in 1811, although he had been twice returned to the Federal Senate, and could have remained there all his life, was glad to throw up his seat in that body in order to enter the House of Representatives? Does the Speaker believe that there now exists a Senator who could be tempted to follow Clay's example? If not, why not? How has it happened that the House of Representatives has declined from the place of eminence which it occupied when James Madison, Henry Clay, John Randolph, John Quincy Adams, and Thaddeus Stevens possessed and exercised freedom of utterance, and the right of truly representing their constituents upon its floors?

M. W. HAZELTINE.

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THE MENACE OF LEGISLATION.

BY THE HON. JAMES H. ECKELS, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

A NUMBER of years since one of the foremost of American writers upon the political and economic history of the country called attention to the growing sentiment of fear with which business men regarded the convening of Congress in legislative session. This was equally apparent whether the legislative machinery was to be in Republican or Democratic hands, or whether the question dealt with was one of tariff revision or currency reform. In the time which has intervened since this fact was first noted, it cannot be said that the business world has become any more reconciled to the recurring sessions of legislative bodies or that it has felt a greater degree of assurance in observing the trend of public legislation. If the exact statistics could be obtained, and the truth stated, the results would undoubtedly show a greater intensity of feeling on the subject now than at the earlier date. It is safe to say that the feeling has not been lessened by the development of a character of law-making in almost every State of the Union, far more disturbing and harmful in its effects than the accomplished or attempted efforts at the national capital. This sentiment of fear and distrust finds expression in the columns of the press and in the private speech of the people and is of sufficient seriousness to warrant a public discussion of the reason for it. There must be something radically wrong, when, admittedly, any considerable body of the conservative people of the country entertain such views and withhold respect from legislatures and from enacted legislation. The final result must be a greatly weakened government and a thoroughly disorganized state of social order.

The origin of this condition of affairs is not difficult of ascer-

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tainment, nor is it of sudden growth. It is to be found in the manifest tendency, each year made more perceptible, of the law-making forces, national, State, and municipal, to subject all the undertakings of the private citizen to legislative inquiry and their management to statutory control. Even if such a course was inevitable during the extraordinary exigencies of the war period it is without excuse to-day. The aid of the law is invoked on every hand. The legislature of the nation reaches the affairs of the whole country, that of the State confines itself to State lines. Both proceed upon the theory that every business principle and business enterprise must be regulated by legislative act. The outcome of this wide and extreme exercise of power is a complete thralldom of business and a paralysis of enterprise and stoppage of investment. Nothing could seem more self-contradictory than the statement that the business prosperity of the whole country is delayed and the people impoverished through law, and yet there is absolute truth in the assertion. It cannot be expected that capital will be invested when the suggestion is continually put forth that the basis upon which it is to be expended is liable to change before return is made upon it. The business world knows how essential to business success is stability, and if this is wanting nothing but loss can follow. It awaits some token that the conditions are stable, and that it shall be free from repeated unnecessary legislative interference, before it again calls into activity the means at hand to revive lagging industries and quicken the arteries of trade and commerce.

How completely all this is a reversal of the principles of government invoked at the adoption of the Federal Constitution and the founding of the States is shown by the most casual inquiry. It was then believed that a Republican government should be one of few laws and limited powers. Neither in the enforcement of the one nor in the exercise of the other should there be any attempt to encroach unnecessarily upon the rights of person and of property guaranteed to the citizens. The rights of property were regarded as sacredly as the rights of person, and held to be equally free from invasion. The citizen was, under all circumstances, expected to maintain his individuality. His individual efforts were to work out, without either legislative check on the one hand, or legislative aid on the other, his social and political

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status, and his energy and economy to gain for him whatever degree of material prosperty was possible. The right of governmental interference, even to the extent of sumptuary legislation, was as stoutly denied as would have been a legislative attempt to dictate the citizen's religious belief and form of worship. In the view of the strongest advocate of a paternal government, at that time and for seventy years thereafter, the operations of enacted law were to be confined entirely to matters of public moment, in no wise giving unequal advantage to any one class of citizens over another. Equality under the law had not then become, through the uncalled-for exercise of legislative powers, a mere legal fiction, but was a substantial fact. The government took no man's property unjustly through an abuse of legislation, nor had it favored citizens upon whom it bestowed the privileges which it denied to itself. When legislation had secured the protection of the individual in those things which were absolutely essential to his happiness and which were beyond his own gaining, its work was fully accomplished. The making of the government by statute a partner in the citizen's private business successes and failures was a thing unknown. There was no attempt to create either law-made wealth or law-made money. If tax enactments were to find a place upon the statute book, it was that the treasury might have the means wherewith to meet the expenses of a government economically administered. The measure of the rate of taxation to be enacted from the citizen was the measure of the government's legitimate needs and not of the selfish requirements of private interests. If monetary legislation was demanded the object of the law to be enacted was simply to ratify the decrees of the commercial world and not to defy or nullify them. The improvements undertaken at governmental expense were undeniably for the general good and not in aid of mere local interests. The employer and employee, the capitalist and laborer, all worked out their own difficulties, and it cannot be successfully denied that the relations created between these classes by their own acts were as harmonious and profitable as at present, when on every statute book are to be found innumerable labor acts.

Nothing was more evident during the period when such political ideas obtained than the soundness of the views of every public man upon public questions, saving always upon that of

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slavery; and even on that question the view favorable to slavery was in defence of that which was deemed a property right. The opinions of the private citizen and of the publicist were equally well founded. The government was not deemed the creator of value in the country's currency, nor was it looked upon as the legitimate source of the individual's wealth. Bryanism, embracing as it does all the heresies and dangers of Socialism and Communism, could not have been a possible growth at any time within the first three-quarters century of the republic. The most ardent Jacobin at the founding of the Democratic party, filled with the ideas of the French Revolutionist, would have rejected such a combination of evils and false theories of government as it embodies, as foreign to the underlying foundations of the republic and wholly undemocratic. No Federalist would have tolerated so great an extension of paternalism or believed it to be compatible with the welfare of the country. And yet, no thoughtful student of affairs can fail to appreciate how much of the strength and following which it exhibited a year ago is due to the belief, created in a great mass of the people through a perversion of legislative power, that legislation is the true corrective for all the forms of misery from which the nation suffers. We have swung from the extreme of individualism to the extreme of paternalism, to the detriment of all classes of the people and of all sections of the country. Out of the ill-considered and unnecessary legislative acts, designed to grant the citizen relief in matters which are beyond the duty of the government, have been born more than one issue of a destructive character. It has been an easy thing for the charlatan and demagogue to point to acts of paternalism done in behalf of one interest, and to ask if such acts should not reach to all. There is no consistent answer to the argument that if bounties and benefits are granted through law to one they should be given to all. The only manner in which the question as to the bestowal of such benefits can be met successfully is by denying that it rests within the power of law and equity to bestow them upon any. With the barrier once broken down, there is no escape from the justice of the demand of the Socialist, Populist, and free silver advocate. The demand of each is consistent only with a paternal view of government, and with the exercise of paternal rights. It has no lodgment in any governmental system where the most important factor in

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attaining success is individual effort. It cannot rest in a system which is declared to be based upon an established government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

As against the legislation favored by a true interpretation of the duties of the law-making powers, we have had in recent years statutory enactments without limit, and of every kind and character. They have been designed to create wealth, banish complaints, increase the wage of labor, abolish points of dispute between employer and employee, regulate trade and commerce, banking and currency, make the waste places fruitful, render odious combined capital and curtail the powers of corporations. The most insignificant subjects have not been too trivial to be legislated upon, while the most important have received constant attention. And with what results? The wealth created by such means has been so quickly obtained, and so unevenly distributed, as in turn to be made the object of legislative attack and solicitude. On every side complaints and protests against existing adverse conditions are to be heard. The wage of the laborer is still subject to other laws than statutory ones, and instead of increasing in amount with added legislation, continues to fall. Each year there are yet witnessed disputes between employer and employee, and the country is far from being free of strikes and lockouts. The harmonious relations which should exist between capital and labor are still wanting, despite the labor laws and arbitration boards existent in every State. The channels of trade and commerce, dominated by legislative decrees, still fail to give evidence of an increasing and continuing prosperity. The promise of that prosperity has more than once been made only to fail of fruition. In any proper view of the case it must continue to fall short of public expectations, so long as it rests dependent in the greatest measure upon the acts of any legislative body. The record is yet wanting in the history of our material prosperity where there has been as the result of law any greatly extended period of substantial progress. The reverse is more often witnessed. Such prosperity has in the end invariably culminated in panics, long continued business depression, and bankruptcy.

Turning to questions of banking and currency it is found that the people are still protesting against a banking system so inadequate as to fail to meet the needs of trade and commerce, and a currency system so ill-devised that it makes impossible a

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proper transacting of the daily volume of the country's business. All this remains, though the legislative body of the country has more than once enacted statutes designed to improve both. Anti-trust legislation and anti-corporation acts have yielded no results, except to cause a suspicion, upon the part of the general public, that possibly back of more than one legislative attack upon corporate capital in the alleged interests of the people, are demagogy and blackmail. Legislation upon labor problems and corporate rights clearly unconstitutional in its provisions has not infrequently found place in the acts of many legislative bodies solely to meet a temporary political emergency; and when such legislation has been made the subject of judicial investigation and annulled by judicial decision, the courts have been assailed as in league with the rich, as against the well-being of the poor. Much of the feeling embodied in political platforms and uttered on the stump, directed against the judiciary of the land, has found its inception in paternal legislation. Whenever the courts, and it is to be said to their credit they have seldom failed to meet the duty confronting them, have declared against such legislation as traversing legitimate legislative functions, those responsible for unconstitutional enactments have been quick to accuse them of a want of fidelity to their trust and of a failure to appreciate the abuses which such legislation, it is claimed, would correct.

The seriousness of the situation wrought by over-legislation is many sided. It has made statutory enactment, notwithstanding prohibitory provisions in the constitution of a majority of the States against special legislation, distinctively special legislation. If in many instances it appears to be general in its object and scope, it is so in appearance only. The thing to be accomplished is wholly individual, and for individual benefit. The legislative bodies of the country and the legislators themselves have suffered in reputation and standing from their zeal in this direction. The general public cannot believe that everyone engaged in business, whether that business is of large or small proportions, is an enemy to the people and a despoiler of the country. Fortunately, a point has not yet been reached when the accumulation of capital and the earning of a substantial income is looked upon by the majority of the people as a crime against society. It is also doubtful whether all virtue and disinterested patriotism rest in those

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who constitute the enacting powers. If, as has been argued, a notable decline has come about in the moral tone and statesman-like ability of the men who are elected to legislative places, not the least reason for it rests in the loss of respect for the legislative office itself—a thing made possible only through rendering it by such a course ineffectual as an agency for public good. But these results are of small consequence as compared with the immeasurably greater evil of that threatened deadening of individual effort in the business world through the force of paternalistic legislation. The evidences accumulate with each successive session of every legislative body of a lack of the citizen's reliance on self, and in that self-abnegation he is given encouragement by too willing legislators. In the end, however, he must fall back in the struggle for existence upon his own energy, ability, integrity, prudence, and judgment. The danger springs from the discontent bred when at last it is found that the government is powerless to aid and the legislation relied upon, instead of benefiting, has proven to be a hindrance through its attempting to regulate things beyond its province. If the country is to be free from the forces that threaten its political and financial integrity, the first and greatest reform to be entered upon should be the eliminating of unnecessary and unwise legislation. It should be undertaken in order that legislation may no longer menace all lines of business, but be restricted to those matters which are proper objects of legislative control. And concurrently with such reform, the citizen must know and act upon the lesson drawn by Blanqui from the hazardous attempts of the French revolutionist: "That the finest laws are not sufficient to secure to each citizen a prosperous condition if he does not co-operate with them by his labor and his morality. All the wealth and felicity which the philanthropy of legislation could decree was decreed; and the people learned that public wealth followed other laws than those of force and tyranny. It forced governments and individuals to see the elements of future greatness elsewhere than in legislative programmes."

JAMES H. ECKELS.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

POOLING RAILROAD EARNINGS.

THE pooling of railroad earnings under the control of the government has been discussed for some years in our newspapers, reviews, and in Congress.

In the far West and South the proposition to legalize pools is generally bitterly opposed by the people, on the ground that pooling would enable the transportation companies to "fatten upon the substance of the toiling masses," apparently ignorant of the fact that hundreds of thousands of our citizens find employment on our railroads, and that three-quarters of the earnings of our transportation system are disbursed in compensation of railroad employees.

Never to my knowledge has this subject been presented in its most important aspect. Usually, the articles treating of this matter either are in advocacy of the proposition solely in the interests of the railroad corporations or in hot abuse of them. The essential point of the question is apparently not understood, or if it is understood it is utterly ignored.

Those most intimately concerned in the pooling of railroad earnings are the people, especially the farmer, the miner, and the artisan, and not the transportation lines.

There has been much said about "railroad wars" as factors causing or preventing business prosperity in the United States. War or peace among our railroads actually has cut relatively a trifling figure in our general business relations compared with other overshadowing trade conditions. Railroad wars are unmitigated evils to the people, irrespective of what may be the results to the railroads. It is time, however, we understood that needless and wasteful as are these wars, there are other conditions more disastrous to our commercial and industrial interests.

The opposition to railroad pooling is, perhaps, as strong in the South as in any portion of our country. The facts to demonstrate the mistake we make in opposing pools may, therefore, be taken with advantage from well-known commercial and industrial conditions in the South.

Six or seven years ago the Southern planter marketed his cotton for ten cents per pound. To-day he must sell for about seven and one-half cents. This fall in price of cotton was not caused in any way by the railroads. We have had no railroad wars throughout the cotton regions to affect favorably or otherwise the staple product of the South and Southwest. What, then, has caused this terrible crash in cotton values? Competition. But not competition within our borders. During our Civil War the British started cotton culture in India with destructive results to our nation. During the past quar-

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ter of a century cotton production has been fostered in India, Southern Russia, and in Egypt so extensively that the output from these countries has been crowded into Europe in such quantities as almost to bankrupt the people of our Southern States.

The Great Richmond Terminal Company, controlling and operating the vast railroad system of the South, was, apparently, on the top wave of prosperity five or six years ago. The people of the South were well-to-do and contented. The railroad company shared the prosperity of the people. The crash came to the planters and other business interests of the South, and the railroad property was crushed in the common ruin.

The re-organization of the Richmond Terminal system was necessary for the safety of the business interests of the South. Able and wealthy gentlemen attempted to perform that task, but failed owing to the conflict of interests and other complications. With the lapse of time, Mr. Morgan and his associates had the courage to venture their credit and money in the rehabilitation of that property and accomplished the work in a manner recognized as eminently successful. But in the re-organization of that great system a new policy was inaugurated. Heretofore, railroad re-organizations saw maimed, ead, and worthless members fastened to the trunk. These were always worse than useless and a burden to the commercial body. Mr. Morgan cut to the bone; severed the worthless limbs and left the railroad in healthy condition. The result of this action was that millions of dollars of seeming securities, actually worthless, were wiped out, leaving the re-organized property in shape to be operated for the best interests of the entire South. This wise and heroic action established a precedent followed in all subsequent re-organizations of the unfortunate systems of railroads pressed into bankruptcy by the relentless shrinkage of values throughout the world, due to commercial war.

Thus it is shown that the capitalists owning the property now constituting the Southern Railway lost millions of dollars owing to the crushing of the cotton interests. The losses of the people of the South, however, were even more tremendous. The fall in price of cotton in six years from ten cents to seven and one-half cents per pound entails to-day a loss to the South of at least $100,000,000 annually as measured with income of six years ago. At five per cent. that means the annihilation of at least $2,000,000,000 of national wealth in cotton alone. The railroad companies, instead of being in the remotest way responsible for this appalling loss, are common sufferers with the people.

During the past fifteen years the Pennsylvania Railroad Company has annually expended millions of dollars in straightening the alignment and in reducing grades on that railroad. The entire road from Philadelphia to Harrisburg practically has been rebuilt, and these improvements unquestionably will steadily be prosecuted if funds are available for that purpose. Like improvements have been carried forward on the Lake Shore Railway from Buffalo to Chicago, until to-day that company has the greatest mileage of continuously low grade railroad in the world, enabling that company to refund its mortgage debt in a new consolidated bond at three and one half per cent., the lowest rate of interest on any railroad on earth. Who receives the benefit of these enormous annual expenditures on the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Lake Shore Railway? Not the stockholders of these railroads. During the period of fifteen years past, the dividends paid the stockholders of these companies have alike fallen; the former from eight to

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five per cent. and the latter from eight to six per cent. Every dollar of advantage accruing from the enormous disbursements of these companies for betterments during fifteen years has been received by the people of the United States in the shape of reduced freight and passenger charge.

The German government owns and operates ninety per cent of all railroads in that Empire. The state owns and operates all railroads in Russia and Siberia. The government has built, owns, and operates nearly all the railroads in India. Here is colossal pooling of railroad interests. Those empires use their railroad systems as mighty engines of warfare. They reduce charges to actual cost or less on portions of their lines, if necessary, to destroy commercial competitors, adding extra charges elsewhere to recoup losses.

The salvation of the people of the United States absolutely requires the pooling of the wealth and power of our railroads under State supervision, that they may be used as a resistless machine to attack, shatter, and destroy the commerce of any or all nations on earth, if our national life can be preserved by that means.

No corporations have been so steadily devoted to the common interests of the people as some of the great railroad systems of the country. No associations of citizens of America have administered individual and national interests with greater integrity and more signal success. The shrinkage of world values is so tremendous that to-day the national interests demand national aid to our vast railroad system if improvements such as have been already described are to be continued. Such improvements alone will enable us to wage commercial war sucessfully against the world.

The aid necessary to conserve the interests of the laboring masses is pooling railroad earnings. Thus it will be possible for our railways to save millions of dollars now annually wasted on competitive agencies, enabling them to create a fund with which to cut down grades and make other necessary improvements on their roadway—in the South restoring prosperity to the cotton planters and in the North reviving the courage of the food producers to continue the struggle against their old and their new competitors in the food market of the world.

The most superficial consideration of this momentous question must convince thinking men of the truth of these statements.

J. A LATCHA.

HOW THE RED CROSS SOCIETY WORKS.

THE signing of the treaty of the Red Cross, by the United States in 1882, was, as is well known, brought about by Clara Barton, who had been made familiar with Red Cross methods upon the battlefields of the Franco-Prussian war. It was an international treaty, signed by the leading governments of Europe, an association for the alleviation of sufferings from war, and to prevent barbarity upon the battlefield. It was Miss Barton's idea, however, that the feature of the American Association of the Red Cross should be a system of national relief, an organization ready to give help *at once* in time of great calamities. "No country is more liable than our own," we read in Miss Barton's address to the President and Congress of the United States, "to great overmastering calamities, various, widespread

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and terrible. . . . What have we to meet these emergencies, save the good heart of our people and their impulsive generous gifts?"

She pleaded for an extension of the original design of the Red Cross in the organization of local societies throughout the country, the same to be held firm by the international constitution of the head society; such societies to stand ready to give aid, in sudden emergencies, and that without having first to collect funds. Moreover, surplus funds were to be carefully looked after; each calamity, in brief, to be the benefactor of its successor; a system which has had admirable illustration, within the last two decades. The surplus funds collected for the sufferers from yellow fever in Florida, for instance, were ready for the flood at Johnstown, and a part of what was left over from Johnstown could be sent by telegraph, *at once*, to Oil City, as soon as the news of that frightful conflagration was received: "Two hundred dead; the river one mass of flame." In such crises, one dollar in hand is worth ten that must be collected.

One of the first of the local societies organized by Miss Barton was that of Monroe County, of the State of New York—usually called the Rochester Red Cross, and often spoken of by Miss Barton as "the grand old banner society of Monroe"—so thoroughly was the county organized, and so prompt and generous its help when called upon. A brief record of that county organization of the Red Cross is here presented—the only county of any State that has been thoroughly organized for ready relief. The society has been notably successful in every way, and is still vigorous and ready to give upon a moment's notice to any calamity having just claim upon it. It is made not infrequently the custodian of funds collected outside of its jurisdiction—suggesting that its name might properly be changed to that of the Western New York, or the Genesee Valley Red Cross Society.

This account is not given to trumpet its work, but to show how effectively and simply it has been done; and the gain that such an organization would be to States, counties and cities generally. If Monroe County of the State of New York is not the only county that has been thoroughly organized for this work, its officials have been misinformed. Similar societies were organized at the outset; but they did not perfect the idea of Miss Barton, and the most of them have ceased to exist. The Monroe County Association still retains the name under which it was organized by her, and the constitution which was approved by her.

Following the reorganization of the parent society, a few years ago when branch-societies as first organized were done away with, the Monroe County Society became, in a sense, an independent relief association, but that without severing its relations with the parent society, and sending its contributions in time of sudden emergency to Miss Barton as before.

Since the organization of the Monroe County Red Cross Society in 1882, it has expended, in money alone, for the relief of sufferers from calamities beyond local relief, nearly fifteen thousand dollars. What has been given in clothing, provisions, etc., doubles that amount.

When the news came of the disastrous floods of the Mississippi in 1882, the society had been organized but a few months. The Michigan fires, the floods in the Ohio valley, and famine among Indian tribes, had so opened the hearts and purses of the people, however, that there was a considerable balance in the treasury, and liberal aid could be telegraphed at once to the Mississippi sufferers, and that without delay in making collections; an ex-

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perienced agent was also sent on to report what was most needed. "Seeds, came back by wire, "seed corn, garden seeds—none in the country." Chicago was appealed to for the seed-corn, and it was promptly given, for Chicago never forgets how the long trains laden with supplies were once speeding to her from all over the land. The head of a great Rochester seed-house—Hiram Sibley—gave at once ten thousand dollars worth of seeds, and transportation through, *and that without stopping;* also, the proper person to attend to the re-shipping of the seeds at Memphis, where they were to be distributed to five States.

The waste, that seems inevitable and unavoidable at such times, the misappropriation of funds, to call it by no harsher name, disappears under a system which accounts for every dollar, and which must see that each calamity leaves enough in the treasury for the next call upon it. Money is not raised by memberships in the Monroe County Society, nor by stated collections; that method has been tried and discarded; its first fund was largely collected in that way. Now, whenever a demand upon public sympathy, like a flood at Johnstown, a cyclone in the West, pestilence in the South, causes a tide of benefaction to outpour, that tide flows surely and steadily into the channel of the Red Cross to be expended by Miss Barton. The news of a calamity calls the M. C. R. C. S. together at once, and it is ascertained without delay whether the disaster is beyond local relief; the treasurer usually telegraphing from the meeting for information, and wiring, not infrequently in advance, the amount of the appropriation that will be made if called for. Occasionally the answer comes back, as from Milwaukee, after the great fire of four years ago, and from St. Louis recently, that outside help is not required. There is always something in the response revealing more than business-men usually put into telegrams, a hearty appreciation of the helpful sympathy extended. . . "Draw on us at once for five thousand dollars, if you need it," was telegraphed to Miss Barton from the M. C. R. C. S. when it was known that she had started for Johnstown. Upon her arrival she responded: "Will draw on you for eight thousand at once." "All right, will honor your draft."

Some four thousand dollars more were given to Johnstown by the M. C. R. C. S.—the furnishing of twelve barracks complete; twelve families of four persons to a barrack. Physicians and nurses were also sent—no more, nor as much as many other cities were doing, but to how many was a surplus fund returned? How many gave their large collections to the custodianship of an organization that in helping Johnstown was providing also for the next calamity? Johnstown, as before stated, through this system of forecast could give five hundred of the Monroe County surplus fund to Oil City, and five hundred to Grand Haven, Mich., after its great fire. Is not this a different story from that following the relief of calamity generally? They tell us of the fine and costly road built in the suburbs of a city to which the whole country gave generously in a time of its frightful affliction from pestilence, a road that was paid for in money left over and appropriated by local agencies—only one case of many like it since the disbanding of Relief Commissions at the close of the war, and the disappearance of large sums never yet accounted for.

The catalogue of calamities beyond local relief, to which aid has been promptly sent by this single local society, need not be given here. It reaches from the Michigan fires of 1881, down to the Armenian atrocities of to-day. Possibly a list of what has been considered in committee and dismissed as

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having no just claim upon the society would be interesting. That list is a long one, for the watchdog of the treasury of the M. C. R. C. S. is never to be coaxed by sentimentalism into unjustifiable appropriations. It looked for awhile, at a conference of the society not long since, as if one thousand dollars would be sent to Japan in recognition of what she had achieved in civilized methods of warfare, and of her claim besides upon our National Red Cross Association in time of war. The story of the Red Cross in the hospitals of the Japanese will never be forgotten. But the money was not sent, nothing more than an expression of sincere fraternity; for, according to a strict interpretation of the constitution of the society, no more might be permitted.

What will be the next great calamity beyond local relief? Would it not be well if a considerable part of the community, say our leading cities, stood ready to meet it when it comes—to telegraph at once to Miss Barton, or the Governor of the State, or the Mayor of the city, or to some one in authority (if not to a sister-organization): "Can send you five hundred dollars at once. Do you need it?"

Would not that be an improvement upon what usually follows in the excitement attendant upon the news of a sudden and great calamity? What better scheme for preventing waste, and the misappropriation of funds?

Is it not most expedient that every community should organize and maintain a local organization, like that described, in order that sudden appeals for aid from the National Association may be answered without delay? Each community would be in a sense an independent relief association, yet supporting the parent society, holding in readiness necessary funds and materials, and distributing its relief "either through the agents of the State or National Society, or through responsible agents of its own."

JANE MARSH PARKER.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE GIRLS' PRIVATE SCHOOL.

"THEY say there is a young lady in New Haven," wrote Jonathan Edwards one hundred and fifty years ago, "who is beloved of that Great Being who made and rules the world and that there are certain seasons in which this Great Being comes to her and fills her with exceeding sweet delight, and that she hardly cares for anything except to meditate on Him. She has a strange sweetness in her mind and singular purity in her affections; is most just and conscientious in all her conduct, ... is of a wonderful calmness and universal benevolence, and seems to be always full of joy and pleasure."

"Homesick? Not much! I came to college, and I stay in college, to get rid of the restraint of home and to have my own way. Now, when I go home for my vacation, I am a distinguished visitor and every one looks up to me and defers to me."

Thus did a young girl, a few months ago, sum up her ideas of life's aims and responsibilities.

This nineteenth century girl and the eighteenth century maiden are extreme types, it is true, but are types, nevertheless—the one, of what our country has produced in the past; the other, of what it is producing now. The eighteenth century maiden was the product of rigid discipline, hardships, self-denial, much introspection, and a stern devotion to duty. Into

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what kind of woman did she develop? At seventeen she married a young minister, became the mother of ten children, all of whom were honored and useful in the colonies; she performed her household and parish duties with great wisdom and discretion; and not only this, but she continued her development of mind and soul, and made her home a genial and attractive center for the best culture of the time.

No one wishes to bring back those Puritan times. The "good old days" undoubtedly gain from distance much of their enchantment; but they had certain characteristics, they produced certain fine, hardy types of character, that make every true New Englander hold his head higher because of his ancestry. Are the characteristics of the present time—are the types of character it is producing—such that the twentieth century shall have like cause to be proud of its heritage from the nineteenth?

A recent writer says: "The spirit of individual independence is the spirit to which the progress of civilization is due; but, if not controlled by reason, it becomes the parent of anarchy, destructive of free institutions and of social order. In America we have been living under conditions which have admitted no checks upon this spirit of independence; and the result is seen in every class, in the enfeebled sense of the virtue of obedience and the necessity of discipline, in the unrestraint of expression, and the readiness to question and to resent the exercise of authority."

No thoughtful observer can deny this charge or the seriousness of it. The words of the nineteenth century girl bear forcible testimony to its justice; the nursery, the kitchen, the college, the workshop, confirm its truth. To shut our eyes to such a tendency, not to seek its cause and its check, is practically to say, "After us the deluge!"

The cause is found in the lack of discipline in the family. It may be the reaction from the sternness of the Puritan home; it may be the desire not to interfere with the development of the child's personality; it may be that weakness of nature which spares itself the present pain of discipline regardless of the future welfare of the child; it may be American laziness that lets a thing go rather than "make a fuss about it"—whatever it is, it is not "parental tenderness and love" that thus sows the seeds of lawlessness by the failure to insist upon obedience in the home.

To fail to teach a child obedience is to leave him a prey to his own untutored impulse, to make him scorn the guidance of his father's and mother's experience and rush blindly into follies and mistakes that may entail life-long regret. It is to throw him out to the rough handling of life to be taught lessons of self-control and self-poise that should have been learned in the loving atmosphere of the home. It is to make it hard for him to reverence anything in earth or heaven, for he has not learned to reverence his parents. It is to make it a bitter struggle for him to bow meekly to the sweet will of God.

The growth of a spirit of license is invariably followed by a decline in the sense of duty. The man whose aim is to do as he pleases, does not generally please to do as he ought. How much persistent doing of duty for duty's sake do we now see? Some—a great deal no doubt; there are always in every age a remnant left who take counsel of their conscience; but do they constitute an increasing majority? Why is it that in all departments of work, from the kitchen to Congress, it is so next to impossible to find faithful service? Is it not because our people have ceased to ask themselves what they ought to do, and ask only what they wish to do? The

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least work with the smallest effort and the largest pay and most liberty—that seems to be the ideal. Not, "Where can I be most useful?" but "Where can I have the best time?" Not, "Where can I do most?" but "Where can I do least and make most?" These seem to be the questions asked by workers of every grade. It is not thus that we shall hand down to our children a heritage of character and achievement for which they will give thanks.

Twin brother of this decline in the sense of duty is the desire to avoid everything that is hard. The child gives up the difficult lesson and waits for the teacher "to explain it," because it is hard to use his own brains; the woman shuts up her house and takes her family to a hotel, because it is hard to bother about housekeeping; the citizen lets the demagogues keep his city filthy, morally and physically, because it is hard to fight political corruption; the love-crossed maiden and the disappointed business man commit suicide, because it is hard to endure life with a heavy heart. Ask the leaders in any good cause how many of their helpers can be depended upon for sustained and persistent effort when work becomes difficult and applause grows faint. How many hold to a high purpose in the presence of inevitable drudgery? "I make it the principle of my life," said a husband and father not long ago, "never to do anything myself that I can get some one else to do for me," and in these words he sums up the spirit of all the idlers and many of the workers of the age.

The man who shirks his duty and avoids what is hard is the man who devotes as much of his life as possible to "having a good time." Consequently, if these tendencies are characteristic of our age, we should expect to see developing along with them an excessive indulgence in pleasure. Is it not true that we do? How restless our people are! How constantly on the alert for some new form of enjoyment! Children must have their parties; schoolboys and girls their full-dress dances; college students a round of spreads and receptions and theatrical entertainments; men and women a whirl of sports and travel, of banqueting, pageants, and revel.

Now what are the results of these tendencies—this growth of a spirit of license, decline of a sense of duty, avoidance of what is hard, and excessive devotion to pleasure?

We see these results in the lawlessness of our political bosses, our lynching mobs, our legislative assemblies. We see them in the slipshod work that confronts us wherever we turn; pre-eminently in the department of domestic service, where it is rapidly breaking up the home and thus loosening family ties and striking at the very foundation of society. We see them in the increasing number of divorces. Men and women will be held by no bond, not even the bond of marriage; they must marry how and when they please, and they must unmarry with equal facility. And we see them, finally, in the weakening of moral fibre, the lack of hardihood, the lowering of the standard of public and private morality, and in the restlessness and ennui and heartlessness that characterize our leisure class. Recall Charles Dudley Warner's "Little Journey in the World" and his "Golden House," if you wish a picture of how men and women sell their souls for social position, and how insufferably bored and brutally hardened they are by the pleasures it brings.

If ever we need a hardy, self-controlled, upright race of men and women, a race with clear moral vision and broad, warm sympathies, we need it now. Life is growing increasingly difficult and complex. Economic and social problems are pressing for solution, and they will not always be put

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off. New duties—perhaps new social conditions—must result from the changed relations between labor and capital. Who must wrestle with these problems? Who perform these duties? The people who hold the power—the people of wealth. It is this class from which the girls' private school largely draws its pupils. It is the sisters and wives and mothers of this class for whose education it is responsible. What shall be the attitude of the private school towards these destructive tendencies that characterize our age? It can do only one of two things; it can either work with them or it can work against them. Many of the girls who come to it are the living embodiment of these tendencies. They have never obeyed except when they felt like it; they have done nothing except what they wished; they have had every hardship put out of their way; they have sipped of the cup of social dissipation just enough to make them long to drink it dry. The private school can, if it chooses, continue the education the home has so successfully begun. It can be lax in its discipline, and have only rules which it knows that its girls will wish to obey. It can let its pupils learn their lessons or not, as they choose, never insisting upon a thorough mastery of a subject, sliding over all difficulties, visiting no penalties upon needless absence, and wilful or careless neglect of duty. It can allow unlimited indulgence in candy and soda water, baskets from home and feasts in the bedroom. It can provide and encourage social amusements and make pleasure the business, and study the interruption of school life. And if it does this, it will probably be very popular, and make much money, and be called "a great success."

Or the private school can try to turn the current. It can insist upon obedience to its regulations, whether those regulations are approved by the pupils or not, trying always, of course, to bring its girls into such sympathy with its aims and spirit that they shall learn to be a law unto themselves. It can require promptness and regularity in the performance of duty, and so keep its girls from degenerating into mere creatures of caprice. It can demand thorough work in everything undertaken, concentrated study, clear thinking, definite expression; realizing that a slipshod performance of school work, means later a slipshod performance of life's work; that a giving up of a hard arithmetic example means, in the future, a giving up before a hard duty; that muddled thinking in lessons means muddled ideas of right and wrong in conduct; that inaccuracy of recitation in the class-room means untruthfulness in word and deed in life.

It can help its girls to self-control, first, as has been said, by making them obedient and industrious; second, by impressing upon them that every slight physical discomfort is not sufficient cause for discontinuing work, and that tears over trifles are a sign either of disease, or of unwomanly childishness; and finally, by teaching them to subordinate the lower to the higher.

It can begin to do this last in a very simple, prosaic way, by curbing the gratification of their appetite for unwholesome food, by limiting their supply of candy, and by stopping all eating between meals. This may seem to be a very unimportant thing, a petty restriction, unworthy of mention in a grave discussion of educational methods. But is it so unimportant? Think how many of the people whom you know lead a life almost exclusively of the senses, a life whose chief concern is eating, drinking, and dressing; think how annoyed you yourself are if your dinner is not to your taste; and then decide whether the school owes no duty to its pupils in this matter of the

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restraint of appetite. "I think candy is the prerogative of all children. Why, I think it's a crime to take it away from them!" said a mother to a wise kindergarten teacher. "I think," was the reply, "that a healthy body and a strong moral will-power are the prerogatives of each child, and that it is a crime to take them away from him."

The school can also help its girls to this subjugation of the lower, by holding them back from every pleasure that unfits them for the performance of duty, and by making social amusements only a relaxation from work—a re-creation for renewed effort.

But the private school can do more than restrain. By insisting upon honest intellectual work and good reading, by opening the eyes and the heart to nature's beauty, it can arouse such a thirst for knowledge, such a love of the best in literature and art, such a serene delight in woods and fields and mountains and sea, that those other pleasures that do not please shall lose their charm, and a marvellous new world of pure and satisfactory joy be opened to the view. The school can also give a higher and better gift even than this. It can teach its girls the sacredness of duty, the joy of self-sacrifice, the happiness of unselfish friendship, the love of the Lord. It can send them out into life fresh, buoyant, with unfailing springs of joy within, eager for work, loving-hearted, willing-handed. With what reception will they meet? It lies with the parents to answer.

It lies with the parents, too, to make possible this work of the private school. They must heartily second, not thwart, the efforts of the teacher. If the home draws one way and the school another, the poor girl is likely to be dragged in two, with disastrous results to character and happiness.

And the teacher—what does the work demand of her? Absolute consecration—a consecration that shall continually inspire to new acquisitions of mind and character; that shall ennoble drudgery; that shall hesitate at nothing that can help her girls; that shall be brave enough to speak the unpleasant truth, to impose the disagreeable restriction, if the good of one soul committed to her demands it. It calls for a consecration that shall make the teacher willing to be disliked and misrepresented, to sow in tears with but little prospect of reaping in joy, to give with no thought of receiving in return.

There is a kind of wasp that for hundreds of years has built its cells of mud, and in the bottom of each has laid a tiny egg. Before closing these cells it catches a spider, and injects into it a fluid that makes it remain torpid through the winter. With the warmth of the spring the young wasp hatches, grows, consumes the spider, and thus gaining strength to break the mud walls comes forth into the world a fully developed insect. Yet no mud wasp has ever seen its young.

Let the private school learn its lesson. Let it give the girl enough food to enable her to find her wings; and let it not grieve if she never knows to whose provident care she owes her strength. For love of her and for the deed's sake let it do the deed.

CHARLOTTE W. PORTER.

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